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MAY 19, 1970

—see page 507

ton Friedman explains
OW BUREAUCRATS DO IT

NATIONAL REVIEW

When will the Russians notice that

OUR DEFENSES ARE DOWN?

And how will they respond?
Will Senator Fulbright stop them?
Or King Canute?

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From Concrete Forests: A Thread of Hope

UNDER TODAY'S HEADLINE THERE'S A THREAD OF HOPE

An often elusive thread.
Yet bright as
sunrise,
and like it,
pushing
back the dark.
Hope in print.
Emerging clearly,
goldenly,
when the blooming of
rare talent
in a child of the slums
is told.
Or, almost buried in
the horror and
filth of battle,
it signals a
gleaming hint of
peace.
Under the headlines,
and before them,
and after them—
the thread of
hope
that turns history
into human history.
In making paper
out of paper
we save the threads.
We cleanse them,
renew them.
Wash away the
old ink,
the old clay
and binders
and resins.
We keep the threads.
More stable,
more tractable,
refined, reusable.
Fibers rescued
and rewoven
into paper.
To carry the words of
hope.
Bergstrom Papers,
Neenah, Wisconsin.

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ON THE GOLDWATER CAMPAIGN:

"In those days American conservatives, dreaming of the glorious possibility of a Goldwater victory, envisioned the scene on the Capitol steps during the Inauguration ceremony. 'Do you,' says Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, addressing President-elect Barry Goldwater, 'solemnly swear to defend the Constitution of the United States?' Answers President Goldwater: 'I do. You're under arrest, Warren.'"

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BILL
The Best of Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Compiled by David Franke. 880 delicious quotes arranged by topic, including some 300 from unsigned National Review editorials never before attributed to Buckley.

A sampling of the topics and quotes in this bonanza (including 19 karate chops at Lindsay, 16 at LBJ, 7 at Arthur Schlesinger, 6 at Javits)...

Education
College graduates favor Nixon over Humphrey 46-39, which is the best thing anybody has recently remarked about the values of a college education. On the other hand, alumni of graduate schools favor Humphrey over Nixon 41-29, which confirms the worst suspicions we harbor about over-education.

Catholic Church
The crisis of the Catholic church is much written about. *Look* Magazine celebrates it every couple of issues, and its editors have even volunteered to rewrite the Apostles' Creed, reaching a new high in reader service.

Complaining
I profoundly believe it takes a lot of practice to become a moral slob, and that if there is anything the American people are diligently engaged in acquiring, it is that skill, that indifference to things minor which carries over to things major. We simply don't compain about little things; and so a part of our nervous system becomes inert—the part which should be tingling and on edge if we are to escape totalitarianization by those who exercise great power...Start with the little things. Don't become a grouch. But don't let them push you around. If absolutely necessary, refuse to fasten your seat belt.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
The relationship between corruption and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. would appear to be something like the relationship between typhoid and Typhoid Mary.

Mayor John Lindsay
Mr. (Charles) McWhorter is a longtime enthusiast for John Lindsay—they were young Republicans together back when the destruction of New York City was only a gleam in Lindsay's eye.

And more, *more*, MORE...

Arthur Goldberg
Jimmy Breslin
Academic Cranks
Norman Mailer
Henry Luce
Capital Punishment
Pablo Casals
Jack Paar
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Sailing
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New York Post
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Peace
New York Conservative Party
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New York Times
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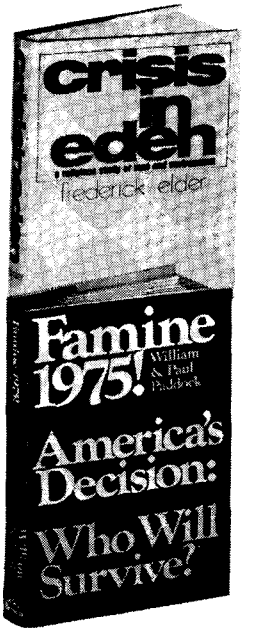

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Good news for Republican Congressman **George Bush**: **Ray Evans**, secretary-treasurer of Texas **AFL-CIO**, says organized labor in Texas will not back **Lloyd Bentsen Jr.**, the conservative Democrat who beat out Sen. **Ralph Yarborough** in last week's primary. Evans hints at a write-in campaign for Yarborough—which would cut into Bentsen's vote, and favor Bush. . . . **ADA** so mad at Yarborough's defeat that it has called for resignation of Texas National Committeeman **Roger Strauss**, accused of not doing his bit for Yarborough. . . . GOP chances of winning seat of **Howard Cannon** of Nevada increased last week when popular District Attorney **William Raggio**, in response to plea from **Nixon**, dropped bid for gubernatorial nomination (which would have meant a bitter party fight), and announced for Senate. Polls show Raggio trailing Cannon by only five to six points. . . . **Ralph Smith**, Dirksen's replacement, coming out loud and clear in support of law and order (and of Judge **Julius Hoffman**) these days, and bugging **Adlai Stevenson III**, his senatorial opponent. Smith has challenged Stevenson to say what he thinks of Conspiracy Trial. Stevenson mum: if he supports Hoffman, he loses liberal backing; if he supports the Seven, Mayor **Daley** will be mad. . . . **Marge Skelncar**, one of the original founders of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, moving to New York, now national hqs. in Washington has closed down, reportedly to work for **Charles Goodell**. . . . The spirited "Republicans Against Goodell Committee" in Glen Cove, L.I. now converted into **"Republicans for Buckley** [James]," reports it's signing up members like mad.

■ Coming out loud and clear for the President on Cambodia, AFL-CIO President **George Meany**: "[The President] acted with courage and conviction [and] on the basis of his clear obligation as commander in chief to protect American servicemen." . . . **YAF** ran full-page ads in *Washington Evening Star* on two successive days in support of Mr. Nixon; plans to follow up with nationwide campaign of similar ads. . . . YAF, which had already planned a big push to get colleges out of **National Student Association**, redoubling efforts now NSA has called national campus strike against Cambodian incursion. . . . **Silent Majority Committee** planning a support the President rally May 22 (NYC; Manhattan Center; Speakers: John Marchi, Mario Procaccino, James Buckley—8:00 P.M.)

Jon, *London Daily Mail*

"By better relations with industry I'm sure Mr. Heath didn't mean having them to dinner every night."

■ Sweden increasingly miffed at behavior of U.S. deserters. Of 355 legally in Sweden, only 147 have jobs, twenty are in jail, many on drug peddling charges. . . . Swedish narcotics expert Dr. **Nils Bejerot** reports that in 1967 (which is the latest figure available) one out of every third Swede convicted of a crime was a drug user. . . . The **Venceremos Brigade**, 647 strong, disembarked in Saint John, New Brunswick last week after two months in the Cuban cane fields, singing loud hosannahs for **Fidel Castro**. Also landing, one Cuban seaman, who asked for asylum. "I want to live where a man can live without fear," he said, "I want to live where a man's work can benefit him."

■ Tidbits: Sen. **Fulbright** has agreed to withdraw Senate Foreign Relations Committee report criticizing President Nixon on Cambodia. Seems the Committee staff incorporated certain paragraphs into the report and released it before the Committee voted on it. . . . *Manchester Guardian* correspondent **Alistair Cooke**, reporting on New Haven Panther kerfuffle, comments about Yale Chaplain **William Sloane Coffin**: "The Rev. Coffin is a wonderful patsy for the Panthers, and naturally they cherish him." . . . Play on the Congo situation by **Conor Cruise O'Brien** at Mark Taper Forum in very much off-off Broadway Los Angeles, has **Patrice Lumumba** as hero, **Dag Hammerskjold** as liberal villain who connived at covering up Lumumba's murder to help wicked British and American imperialists.

■ Most entrancing ad of the week, in international edition of *Le Monde*, placed by the film-makers of *Le Desert Des Tartares*. They want: "A Fort, in good condition and able to accommodate a company (150 men), located in an absolutely deserted area, any place in Europe, Asia, North Africa or the Middle East."

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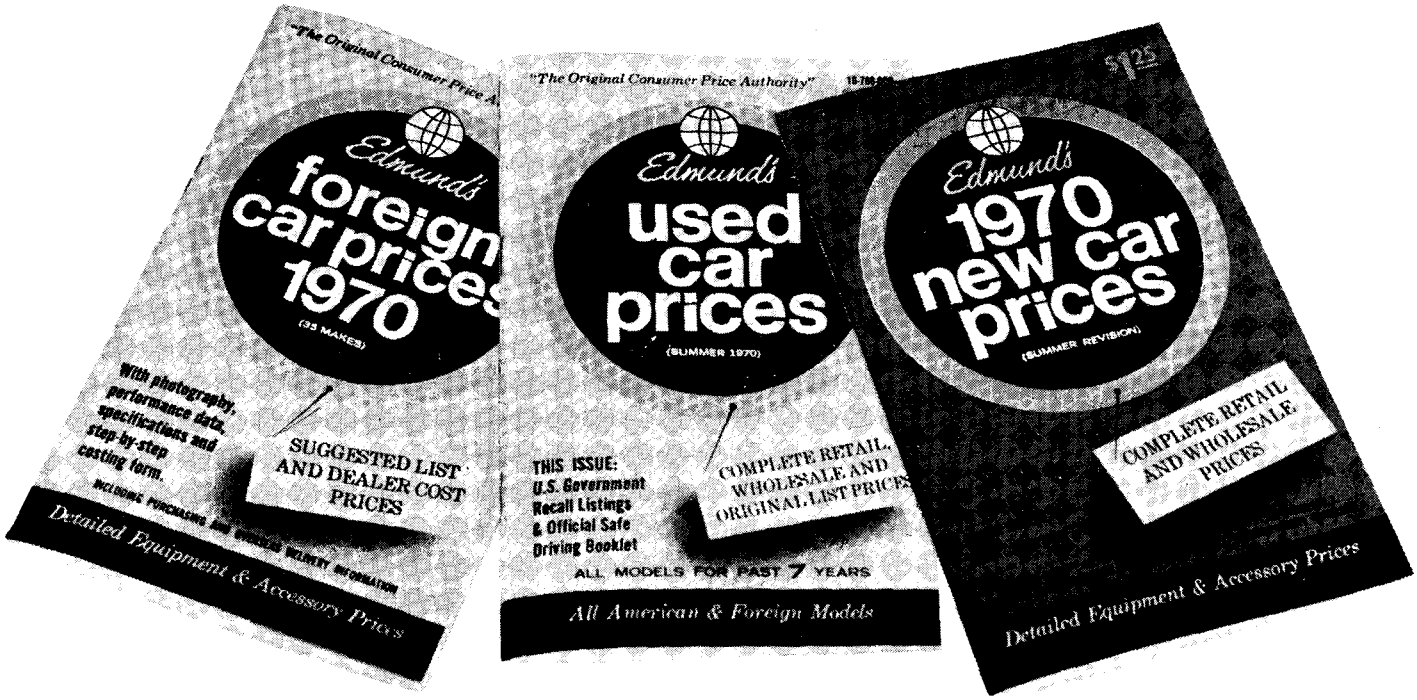
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LETTERS

Sacco, Vanzetti and Russell

At long last! One of the greatest supply dumps of liberal clichés has been knocked out. Francis Russell's article "Sacco-Vanzetti: The End of the Chapter" [May 5] is a superbly detailed account. Unfortunately, most of the bleeding hearts who have spent the past fifty years writing poems about the trial of S & V are now too busy writing them about the trial of the Chicago Seven to bother reading a magazine which attempts, despite all obstacles, to find—and tell—the truth.

Westmoreland, N.Y. WILLIAM M. MARCEAU

Francis Russell makes at least one statement that I know to be substantially inaccurate. He writes: "I was surprised to discover that the question of the trial's fairness was not raised until five years after the trial itself." But the Defense Committee hammered away at the claimed unfairness of the trial from the day the men were convicted. I myself turned out reams of copy and fund-raising letters in which the trial, the judge, the prosecution were lambasted as prejudiced and unfair; and that was immediately after the trial.

Also, the *Dramatis Personae* with the article lists me as "publicity director of the Defense Committee." Actually I occupied that august post for only about one year. The case, from the arrests to the executions, lasted seven years. So I rate only one-seventh of the credit or discredit.

New York, N.Y. EUGENE LYONS

Caveat Doctor

Re: "Ghetto Schools Are Different" by B. E. Patrick [April 21]. The drawings were amusing and the first section was amusing. But the remainder of the article was particularly frightening.

My major being Secondary Education, one can understand why I was frightened. Thank you, B. E. Patrick, for your warning of the coming battle. Your article should be required reading for all prospective high school teachers, ghetto or otherwise.

Akron, Ohio MARTIN H. BLAKELEY

If the author brought the attitudes revealed in his writing into the classroom, it is no wonder that he failed to reach his students.

There are, it is commonly recognized, great difficulties inherent in living and teaching in a ghetto. However, I feel that a deeper perception of the nature of both problems and solutions could be found in

(Continues on page 529)

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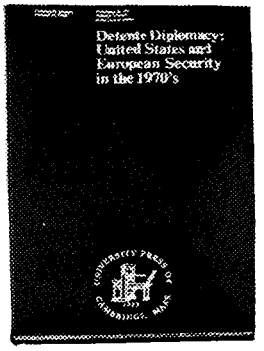

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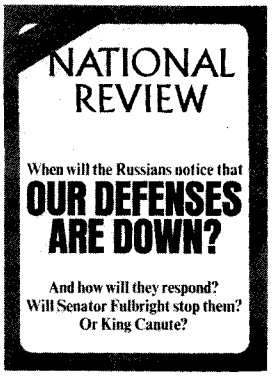
IN THIS ISSUE

■ **Mark Bernard Schneider**, in his first *NR* article, explains why it is imperative that we press ahead with the Safeguard ABM system. Mr. Schneider, who is finishing his doctorate in American history at USC, is the author of several articles on nuclear weaponry. The two most recent are "Sadness and the Future of Strategic Warfare," published in July 1969 by the U.S. Naval Institute, and "Strategic Arms Limitations," appearing in the current issue of *Military Review*. . . . **Milton Friedman**, economics professor at the University of Chicago, needs little introduction to *NR* readers. Mr. Friedman advised Barry Goldwater during the '64 campaign and is thought by many to be the architect of the Nixon Administration's anti-inflation policies. Mr. Friedman's monetarist views have been set forth in scores of articles and books, the best known being *A Monetary History of the United States 1867-1960*. In this issue, Mr. Friedman applies his free-wheeling free-market philosophy to TV, schooling and welfare. . . . **Selden Rodman** is an anthologist, critic, playwright, biographer and student of Latin American affairs. His most recent books are *The Mexico Traveler* and *The Caribbean*. His *South America of the Poets* will be published in September. . . . **J. Bryan III** has been writing for several decades. Like so many fine writers, he broke in with the *Richmond News-Leader*. His later experience includes stints with *Town and Country*, the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Holiday*. During World War II he served as aide to Admiral Halsey, whose biography he has written. . . . **James Burnham** gives us an account of an evening in Bad Godesberg, and **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** describes a Jerry Rubin riot-in, finds greatness in President Nixon's Cambodia speech, and deplores what campus speakers have to put up with these days.


NATIONAL REVIEW
When will the Russians notice that
OUR DEFENSES ARE DOWN?
And how will they respond?
Will Senator Fulbright stop them?
Or King Canute?

■ **Will Herberg**, Graduate Professor of Philosophy and Culture at Drew University and long-time *NR* contributor, analyzes an encyclopedic treatment of the concept of envy. . . . **C. H. Simonds** does it, and with a vengeance, to Jerry Rubin. Mr. Simonds is at work on a book-length critique of the Lindsay administration, which he hopes to complete before his marriage to *NR*'s Assistant Minister of Buttons. After the nuptials Mr. and Mrs. Simonds will join the flight to the suburbs. . . . **Jeffrey Hart**, whose English classes at Dartmouth never go on strike, reviews an already dated, newly published study of urban problems. . . . **Jacob Neusner** is Professor of Religious Studies at Brown University. . . . **Richard Corliss**, who finds Fellini flaky, also reviews films for the *New York Times* and the *Village Voice*.

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THE WEEK

■ There's at least one thing the student rioting of the last couple of weeks has accomplished: It's killed the chances of the eighteen-year-old vote bill.

■ John Lindsay started it. On April 2, at Berkeley, he claimed that the real danger to society came not from New Left dynamiters but from members of the Nixon Administration who "are ready to support repression as long as it is done with a quiet voice and a business suit." On May 4, Spiro Agnew counterpunched. Lindsay, he said, is a "well-born elitist" who espouses "philosophical violence." "We have seen all too clearly that there are men—now in power in this country—who do not represent authority, who cannot cope with tradition and who believe that the people of America are ready to support revolution as long as it is done with a cultured voice and handsome profile." Way to punch, Veep. Now how about the latest Lindsayism, on the draft: "The ones I have unending admiration for are the guys who say, 'I simply will not serve in the Army of the U.S. in Vietnam and I am willing to take the consequences for it.' These are the guys who are heroic." Go get him.

■ Alabama aside (see p. 502), the political season opened pleasantly enough for President Nixon. In the Ohio primary, both Republican senatorial contenders were solidly pro-Nixon; of the two, the winner, Robert Taft Jr., will have a better chance in November than Old Politician James Rhodes would have had—especially against Howard Metzenbaum, whose quintessentially Nixonian campaign against astronaut (and Kennedyite) John Glenn demonstrated that skillful use of the media can still counteract an opponent's personal glamor. In Texas, things can't help but come out right: liberal Democrat Ralph Yarborough lost in the senatorial primary to conservative Democrat Lloyd Bentsen, who will oppose conservative Republican George Bush in November.

Albert Gore Explains

I voted for Abe Fortas;
I'd vote for him again.
I know he stashed a bit of cash,
But what a legal pen!
I voted NAY on Haynsworth;
I vetoed Carswell, too.
I'll specify my reason why
So y'all won't misconstrue:
Their rulings are the *dullest*;
Their reasoning, I shun . . .
Now don't be snide and say that I'd
Have black-balled Washington.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ "It is late in the day—but it is not too late to save the colleges and universities of this country from the future anarchic dreamers have in store. It will take courage and it will very probably involve the kind of confrontations understandably distasteful to men of thought. . . . Dr. Sidney Hook traces the seeds of the current disorders back to 1964: 'Shortly after the riotous events at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964, I predicted that in consequence of the faculty's refusal to condemn the student seizure of Sproul Hall, the administration building, American higher education would never be the same again. . . .' American higher education *has* never been the same since. . . . Campus anarchy that might have been nipped in the bud at Berkeley with a single act of administrative decisiveness and faculty courage can now be contained only at considerable cost. But the sooner the price of saving the universities is paid, the better."

—Vice President Agnew
April 28, 1970

■ Communication from a Fairfield, Connecticut high-school student: "Our principal called a special assembly, announced Nixon's move into Cambodia, deplored the events on the campuses, and asked us all to bow our heads and pray for peace. Apparently even liberals aren't completely for that school-prayer ban."

■ The *New York Times* prides itself on being the newspaper of record so, just for the record, how about this story by Andrew H. Malcolm, May 5, 1970. Headline:

60 YEARS OF QUIET AT KENT STATE
ARE SHATTERED IN ERA OF PROTEST

The story carries this information: "Until recently the school's most serious demonstration was a 1958 panty raid on two women's dormitories the last day of the school year. . . . Since then, except for some rowdy Friday nights, the students, mostly middle-class and about 85 per cent of them from Ohio, maintained peace with local residents and, in fact, had a distinct reputation for apathy." What's wrong with that? Just that in 1969 Kent State had such serious SDS-inspired riots and demonstrations, complete with so many breakings and enterings and destruction of property, that the House Internal Security Committee—in its investigation of SDS—devoted two full days of its time to the incidents at Kent State. The testimony, all 167 pp., is available—to the *N.Y. Times* and anyone else—from the Government Printing Office.

■ No trouble, no trouble at all, said HEW Secretary Robert Finch when the Senate Finance Committee demanded changes in the Nixon welfare plan. Seems the senators want to make sure the program will "mesh"

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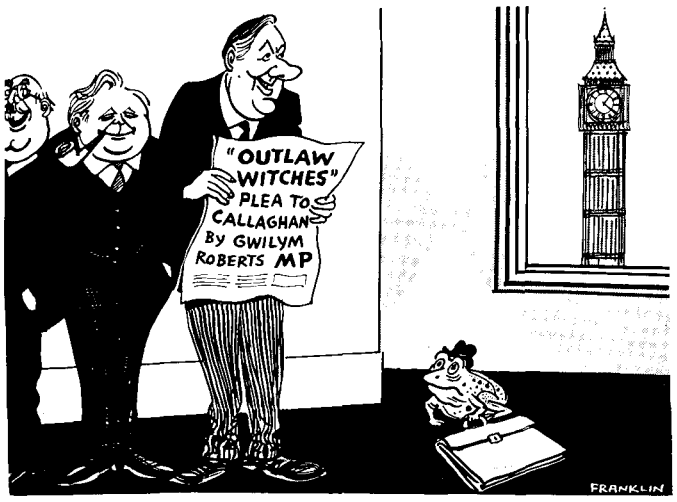

London Daily Mirror Ben Roth Agency

"How's your campaign against witchcraft going, Gwilym?"

with existing public assistance measures, like food stamps and Medicare. Done, said the Administration—so the measure will clear the Finance Committee and, probably, the Senate, and will anybody remember that just a year ago, we were told that the Nixon plan was to *replace* the existing welter of welfare benefits?

■ In a seven-to-one decision, the U. S. Supreme Court has upheld a New York State law that exempts property used for religious purposes from real estate taxes. The majority ruling was predictable, since the principle of church freedom from taxation is well-established in American law. Also expected was that lone dissent, by Associate Justice William O. Douglas, who argued that tax exemptions for churches violate the Constitution by discriminating against atheists.

■ UN Secretary General U Thant, than whom there is no man less likely to be UN Secretary General after the next election for that office, uttered these words to UNESCO's Lenin centennial symposium: "Lenin's important contribution to the advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms has been widely recognized. He attached tremendous importance to science, culture and education and regarded them as powerful driving forces for overcoming backwardness, accelerating economic and social progress and creating better standards of life for all." Thant also characterized Lenin as an "outstanding scholar and prominent humanist." What Thant will be around to beat the drum for Stalin on *his* centennial?

■ The Soviet navy, in conjunction with the Soviet air force, has just finished the most elaborate sea maneuvers in Soviet history. Pentagon analysis of U.S. intelligence data stresses: 1) This was probably the first naval exercise by any country that was worldwide in extent. 2) The naval and air units were Soviet only, with no participation by the other Warsaw Pact nations. This restriction held also in the recent army exercise (Operation Dvina) in Byelorussia, and indicates the Kremlin's lack of confidence in the satellite forces, no doubt derived from the 1968 Czechoslovak experience. 3) U.S. reconnaissance planes counted more than five hundred Soviet bombers joining in the exercise. 4) These bombers were both long- and medium-range, and their maneuvers tested possible strikes against enemy surface fleets, including use of air-to-surface missiles, as well as defense of the Red fleet.

■ Rhodesia, long accustomed to international opposition to its policy of racial separation, is now facing the same thing at home. The Roman Catholic Church has said it won't obey the Land Tenure Act, a major part of Rhodesia's new constitution, because the Act makes it impossible for the Church to carry on its work. The Act calls for the division of Rhodesia into white areas and black areas and forbids the occupation of any area by the other race. The government is especially worried because the Church has threatened to close all the schools, hospitals and orphanages it operates. Prime Minister Ian Smith, fearing the financial burden the closings would impose on his government, has promised to meet with Church officials.

■ *Québec Libre* was just about as dead politically last week as Charles de Gaulle in the wake of Robert Bourassa's smashing surprise victory in the Quebec provincial elections. Bourassa's Liberal Party, which had been running neck-and-neck with René Lévesque's separatist *Parti Québeçois*, pulled ahead in the field of four like Dust Commander to win big: 45 per cent of the vote, 71 of the 108 seats in the provincial parliament. Lévesque's party landed only thirteen seats, but it racked up 25 per cent of the votes (the disparity had to do with the big turnout for Lévesque in Montreal—elections in Quebec are weighted in favor of the rural communities). This means that while the people voted three-to-one against separatism the government will have to take into serious consideration those other complaints that French-speaking Canadians have had against the central government in recent years. In addition, since Bourassa, like Premier Pierre Trudeau, is a Liberal, Quebec can expect to get a better deal in the future from Ottawa than it has in the past.

Boola-Boola 1970

We're little Black Panthers who like to play . . .
Bomb, bomb, bomb.
We're little Black Panthers who've found our way . . .
Bomb, bomb, bomb.
Gentlemen gangsters off on a spree—
Brewster's for us eternally—
And Coffin has mercy for such as we . . .
Blah, blah, blah.

JOHN D. KIRWAN

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■ Believe it or not, they may be even worse in India. Two universities in Satna were ripped up when proctors caught students cheating on exams. Another proctor in Mainpuri was beaten to death by students he caught copying answers. And in Gorakphur a student brought a ferocious Alsatian with him to the classroom to insure that he could cheat in privacy. Which he did. The right to cheat! But don't spread it around—our own New Left is hungry for a meaningful new issue.

■ Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, astute journalist, founder of the spectacularly successful *l'Express*, new head of the French Radical Party, took himself to Greece and engineered the liberation of composer Mikis Theodorakis—which got him into lots, and lots, of trouble. Said S-S to political critics: How do I know Theodorakis is no longer a Communist? Because he told me so on the plane. Said Theodorakis, in an interview with the Italian CP paper *Unita* a few days later: "Am I a Communist? My whole life is witness to it." Said S-S: Theodorakis agreed to stay out of politics as a condition of asylum in France. Said T.: Who me? Never made any such commitment. Moral: Never accept a Greek, even as a gift.

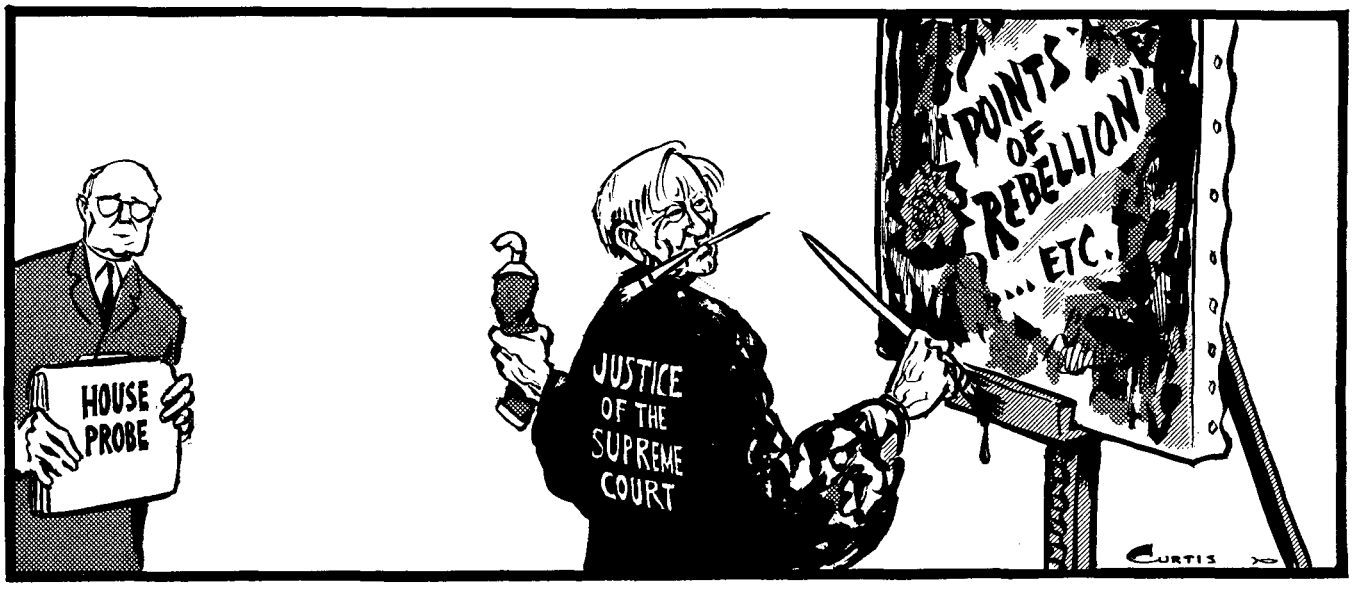
■ THE WAY WE LIVE NOW: Memo from Chairman of Committee on Courses at UC Berkeley to faculty. "1) In the present state of Campus Emergency, the cancellation of class meetings by an instructor when, in his judgment, there is danger to himself or to his students is not improper conduct of a course; 2) students who decide that attendance at classes exposes them to danger should not be penalized for absences resulting from that decision."

■ A friend of ours, an American resident of Buenos Aires, sends the world news roundup column from an Argentine newspaper. In *Nueva York*, it seems, three more people were found dead of *dosis excesivas de heroína,* making since the first of the year 141, 24 of them *adolescentes*. In Iran, meanwhile, Thamaseb Khosrowi was *fusilado* for violating the new law *contra los narcotícos*, which prescribes *la pena de muerte* for smuggling drugs. An interesting *yuxtaposición*, says our friend; say we, *si.*

■ Guess who isn't coming to dinner? Someone to upstage Vice President Agnew, that's who. When it was announced that the Vice President would be in Des Moines, Iowa, on April 13 for a fund-raiser, the Rev. Robert Williams thought it might be cute to throw an anti-Agnew dinner ($10 a plate) on the same day. But after fussing and fretting, the anti-Agnew feed was canceled. The reason? Rev. Williams explains: "We have not been able to secure the kind of nationally prominent speaker who would draw the kind of crowd and national media interest that we wanted." They should have invited Agnew to drop in.

■ Good evening, masochists, guilt-ridden liberals and stark courtroom drama buffs. Tonight your local Group W station presents *The Man Nobody Saw*, "a stark courtroom drama depicting the struggle of the black man to survive in white society," in which "a black defendant charged with arson, felonious stealing and attacking his wife" bases his defense on the Kerner Commission report because "white liberals made him the object of a subtle violence that corroded his spirit and precipitated his crimes" and naturally "it becomes apparent that the 'white Establishment' is actually on trial" and if this sort of thing bothers you, just remember that it was put together by the Urban League, the Family Service Association of America and the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, and Senator Edward Brooke says it is "one of the finest achievements" of the Kerner Commission, so squirm, baby, squirm. Anybody for old Perry Mason reruns?

■ Telling it like it is, succinctly: "There are no longer



"About that smock you're wearing, Mr. Douglas . . ."

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Do you have a

- ☐ ~~MOTHER'S DAY~~ TOO LATE!
- ☐ FATHER'S DAY
- ☐ GRADUATION
- ☐ BIRTHDAY
- ☐ MAN IN THE SERVICE
- ☐ YOU NAME IT...

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valid reasons for our cities to exist." Dr. Roger Revelle, Director, Harvard Center for Population Studies.

■ The sudden rise of violence, on and off campus, has provoked the reappearance of a leaflet that first came out in the early 1960s. "NOW your town can have a PROFESSIONAL RIOT! No more 'AMATEUR' demonstrations! DEMONSTRATORS, INC.—Our Trained Terrorists Can Tie Up Any Town! Name your cause—We will demonstrate (ninety days notice needed to guarantee spontaneity). Please advise the news service you prefer —all other cameras will be smashed and reporters slugged. WRITE TODAY! Check today's newspaper for current address. DON'T DELAY! Prices will rise when we add 'suicide by fire' to our services." Remember the letter to raise funds for a statue of FDR? . . .

■ "*New York*, May 1 (UPI)—Reputed Mafia boss Joseph Colombo Sr. early today protested the arrest of his son by picketing the New York headquarters of the FBI." His placard? Surely, FBI UNFAIR TO ORGANIZED CRIME.

Now Is the Time for All Good Men To Come to the Aid of Their President

Rip Van Winkle, awakening a fortnight ago, would have surmised that Richard Nixon had started the war in Southeast Asia. Certainly, nothing that any of Mr. Nixon's critics—and their number is as the leaves falling in the autumn—has been saying would ever give the impression that the incumbent President inherited this war full-blown from his predecessor in office, or that that predecessor inherited it from *his* predecessor and on back another official generation further to President and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had in his time a fairly thorough experience of wars and was, as it happened, Richard Nixon's sponsor and teacher. Nowhere would one learn that Ho Chi Minh had something to do with this war—let alone that he had invaded and in part occupied Cambodia.

Over a period of nearly two decades, under four heads of government so different in personality and belief as Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, this nation has involved itself in the Southeast Asian conflict. Reflecting on that fact, a reasonable man, if there are any longer any reasonable men, might conclude that this conflict is not the doing of any one individual, that no individual, of whichever party, is "to blame" for it. In its fuller historical context, our involvement in this war in Southeast Asia appears more as a part of our national destiny, our *fate*, than as the consequence of any individual's will. And this is what each President in succession, whatever his ideas before entering office, saw inevitably when he looked out at the world from the unique perspective of chief executive and commander in chief. The nation become the world's foremost power—and the only power capable of counterbalancing the thrust of revolutionary totalitarian power—was involved, is still involved, will be involved in Southeast Asia, and will be profoundly affected by what happens there, no matter what any single individual, even if he is a President; even if he is, say, chairman of a Senate committee, wants or does.

The irresponsibility of our more raucous doves has gone beyond all limits. Suppose the President, on taking office last year, had adopted the unconditional pullout policy demanded by the Fulbrights and Lowensteins. Even in that case, even if the President had decided to ditch the South Vietnamese, Thais, Laotians and the rest of the Southeast Asians altogether, and to make for home, it still would have been, would be, a long complicated, difficult journey. There is no way just to stop shooting and run away when you are in so deeply as we were on January 20, 1969. If a climbing party on Everest decided to quit a thousand feet below the crest, their troubles would not end at that moment; indeed, quite probably the worst troubles would lie still ahead. When the crew of Apollo 13 gave up their moon landing, they couldn't just sit back and coast in to earth.

The President's decision was not, of course, for unconditional pullout. He chose and explained the strategy he calls "Vietnamization," of carefully phased withdrawal along with a strengthening of the South Vietnamese army and nation (and attempted negotiation with the North Vietnamese) that he hoped, and hopes, will enable American combat forces to leave within a comparatively short period while at the same time putting South Vietnam in condition to protect itself from Communist conquest and govern itself as it sees fit. This policy was considerably short of the more positive strategy that NATIONAL REVIEW advocated, but it may have been the maximum that the state of domestic opinion permitted. Maybe its combination of goals is impossible of achievement in practice, but the policy is conceivable, and moderate, and the President has proceeded consistently in accord with it.

In reality, there is nothing in the Cambodian operation that is out of line, objectively considered, with Mr. Nixon's avowed Vietnamization-withdrawal policy. In every military withdrawal, conditional or unconditional, there are tactical reversals, flank movements, shifts back and forth. The North Vietnamese bases in Cambodia were well known, and in the last analysis were incompatible with successful Vietnamization and American withdrawal. While Sihanouk was in power, the Cambodian situation held more or less in equilibrium; a solution for these

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enclaves could be postponed. But with Sihanouk's departure the equilibrium was destroyed. There was an acute risk that Cambodia might be entirely taken over by the North Vietnamese before the new government could consolidate itself. American lives as well as the chance for Vietnamization depended on a fast move to reduce at least the degree of threat from these enemy-occupied areas. Therefore the President, as commander in chief, ordered the move, as it was his duty to do.

What is most fantastic about the response to this rather minor and routine military maneuver in furtherance of a known and established policy is its disproportion. From the hysteria in the Senate, the media and the campuses, one would have imagined that the President had ordered, at the very least, the H-bombing of half of Asia, the conscription of all persons from eighteen to sixty, and the defoliation of the redwoods. It must be granted that several of Mr. Nixon's final sentences in his TV address were also over-inflated. The truth is that this Cambodia operation is in itself a secondary incident. If it comes off, it won't guarantee the success of Mr. Nixon's larger strategy, but it will leave success still possible. If the hysterics wreck the Cambodian maneuver, however, as they seem bent on doing, the larger strategy may also go down in that wreck. One doesn't expect Abbie Hoffman to be concerned with that possibility. One might think a senator would be.

Lowering Their Voices

In its official statement on the occasion of the Lenin centenary, Mao's government let us know what the Chairman thinks of the Soviet Union. Leonid I. Brezhnev, Party Chairman, is a "new Hitler" and the USSR has become a "Nazi-type" state pursuing a racist policy similar to Hitler's "master-race" theory. The Soviets are following "Hitler's policy of 'guns instead of butter,' " and "large numbers of revolutionaries and innocent people [sic] have been thrown into concentration camps and 'mental hospitals.' " The statement charged that Brezhnev seized power in a "counterrevolutionary coup d'état originally carried out with Nikita S. Khrushchev," and it called for a People's Revolution against Moscow's "fascist dictatorship" which keeps power only through "tanks and armored cars" and "special agents and spies." The USSR, it said, was a "barbed-wire socialist community."

Three days later, lowering its profile, the Soviet government replied in an official propaganda broadcast. What can you expect, it said—Chairman Mao, after all, is guilty of "selfishness, cruelty and lust for high position," and furthermore had been unfaithful to his second wife, Ho Tze-chen—"had an open affair with an actress" in front of her—and furthermore was responsible for the death of his first wife, Yang Kai-hui, whom he abandoned to her fate at the hands of the Nationalists, and furthermore that the actress is now "our respectful comrade Chiang Ching," his third wife, and furthermore that Mao is responsible for the death of his son Mao An-ying during the Korean War, who was sent to the front to die under "mysterious circumstances" because he had discovered that his father's version of Communism rested on theories that are "pseudo-scientific junk."

For a final horse-laugh, the Kremlin has named the official responsible for the broadcast, propaganda chief Vladimir I. Stepakov, the new ambassador to Peking. He has not yet arrived at his post.

Teddy Brazens It Out

Despite the haphazard investigation and the muffled confusion of the successive legal moves, one clear and irreducible fact stands out. Senator Edward Kennedy's story (stories) concerning the events that night on Chappaquiddick is plainly incredible.

The 763-page transcript of the inquest has now been published. Much more important than Justice James Boyle's conclusion that Kennedy's negligence as a driver "appeared" to contribute to the death of Mary Jo Kopechne is the Justice's inference that Kennedy lied as a witness testifying under oath. Kennedy claimed that, in attempting to take Mary Jo to the ferry, he turned off by mistake onto the dirt road that leads to the Dike Bridge. As the testimony at the inquest makes clear, however, Kennedy had crossed the Dike Bridge twice that day and had traveled the ferry road three times. The ferry road was a main road, and paved; the bridge road was a dirt track. As Justice Boyle concluded: "I infer that Kennedy and Kopechne did *not* intend to return to Edgartown at that time; that Kennedy did not intend to drive to the ferry slip and his turn onto Dike Road was intentional."

The transcript raises many other questions. Kennedy's inquest testimony conflicts in important ways with the Sorensen speech he delivered over TV a week after Chappaquiddick. Kennedy claims he swam the channel to Edgartown after the accident, though the ferry could have been summoned by phone, and Kennedy's companion Joseph Gargan had discussed post-midnight service with the operator earlier in the day. Conflicting testimony exists about important points of chronology.

Commenting on Judge Boyle's inferences—and they seem inescapable—Teddy gave a version of Commodore Vanderbilt's *The Public Be Damned*. "It is my own personal view" he said, "that the inferences and ultimate

Case Dismissed

There's still a most unpleasant smell.
I grant you, Teddy's been through hell,
But if *I'd* missed that bridge, I think
I'd write these verses from the clink.

W. H. von Dreele

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New Haven: The Missing Context

"There is no such thing as abstract justice," David Dellinger told thousands on the New Haven green on the first day of the May Day demonstrations. "Bobby Seale must be freed regardless of the claims or counterclaims of the evidence. Our objective is not a fair trial; our objective is no trial. We are not here to protest about the trial, we are here to stop the trial."

"We ain't goin' to stand for it," said the next speaker, Abbie Hoffman. "We ain't goin' to sleep for one minute until Bobby Seale is freed." There are no courts, Hoffman said, "but the streets." Later his alter ego, Jerry Rubin, would make it simple; he told the crowd: "We've got to tear down the jails and free our brothers."

But when to tear down the jails, that was the question. "Not this weekend—no violence this weekend," said Dellinger. The plea for nonviolence was repeated by the other speakers; it became the focal point for every press story out of New Haven.

But the context of that plea was rarely indicated in the media. The master of ceremonies, Connecticut Black Panther Douglas Miranda, made it clear: "It is a matter of timing . . . this is not the *time* for violence here." "It is not a question of refusing to fight," said Kenneth Mills, a Marxist professor at Yale. "It is a question of refusing to fight on insane terms." Dellinger summarized the whole thing: "Revolutionary responses have to be planed and coordinated and intelligent if you're in this for a lifetime struggle."

The plea for nonviolence was, then, a matter of tactics. The rally speakers approved in principle and in fact fervently advocated the use of revolutionary violence. "There's going to be a war in America," Jerry Rubin screamed. "War!" And so, for two days the rhetoric continued: "Level New Haven . . ."; "Hotbeds of war in every community . . ."; "We will pick up guns . . ."; "We will take their lives . . ."; "We are arming ourselves"; "Organize the s--- and bring it home to America. . . ." In his final speech, Miranda was specific: "If you want to take pigs' heads, you mark down the day; you move in twos and threes, in self-defense groups. You want to take pigs' heads, you need guidance; all power to the good shooters."

The story in the Sunday *New York Times* dwelt on the pleas for nonviolence by various speakers, without once mentioning the context in which those pleas were made. The AP dispatches read the same way. When the speakers were quoted at all, it was only their disclaimers of violence that appeared.

The networks were the worst offenders. Robert Schnakne's broadcast on CBS' *Saturday Report* gave the impression of a peaceful demonstration marred only by the actions of a few ruffians. No mention was made of the fires that plagued the Yale campus for a week, the threats made against those who were not sympathetic to the Panthers, or the inflammatory nature of the speeches made by Dellinger and the others. Lem Tucker's reports for NBC on the Yale strike were liberally sprinkled with allusions to the American Dream. His final telecast from Yale was a classic example of distortion by exclusion: A few New Haven residents were trotted out to say they were mildly surprised that the demonstrations were not more violent; a New Haven merchant complained about the business he lost; there were several long interviews with student sympathizers with the demonstrations. No scenes were shown of the thousands who stood with clenched fists and cheered when Jerry Rubin declared war on America.

"This is a beautiful thing to watch happen," Lem Tucker told the *Yale Daily News* the day before the rally. "This is a major story," said Burt Quint, the other NBC man. "I just wish there were more people here."

—ANTHONY R. DOLAN

conclusions are not satisfactory, and I reject those." He added that he would say no more about Chappaquiddick.

More outrageous even than Teddy's performance is the indifference toward its moral quality which has been exhibited by the Keepers of the Nation's Liberal Conscience. Charles Van Doren deserves a recount.

George Does It Again

They have a saying in Alabama: "There's no way to know what a woman, a petit jury, or a Democratic primary will do." Three weeks before the May 5 primary, George Wallace was running way behind; it appeared to many that his opponent, Gov. Albert Brewer, would win an outright majority—thus eliminating Wallace from Alabama and national politics for good, just like that. Came May 6, and Wallace had almost beaten Brewer, pulling in far more than the number of votes he needed to throw the primary election into a two-man runoff June 2.

It was only in the final three weeks that the campaign got scrappy, that Wallace had a chance to do what he does best. He trumpeted two code phrases up and down the state: "bloc votes" (meaning: Brewer was getting most of the Negro votes) and "out-of-state interests" (meaning Wallace was being opposed by the big media, the Eastern liberals, the Northern intellectuals). It was the old Wallace appeal, but with a difference. Nothing unkind or critical was said about Nixon, Agnew or the national Republican Party, because Wallace had to accommodate his campaign somewhat to the GOP's "Southern strategy," which has worked, to an extent, in Alabama. Agnew, for his continuing critique of the media

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and the intelligentsia and Nixon, for his labors in behalf of Judges Haynsworth and Carswell, are popular just now in the state. Accordingly, Wallace offered himself as a Merlin to Nixon's Arthur. Time and again, he urged the voters to "keep the Wallace movement going" so that it could "keep those men in Washington honest." If you defeat Wallace, he said in effect, you turn Nixon loose to move left.

"There's no way to know," but the betting is Wallace will win handily in the June runoff against Brewer. Having taken off the gloves, he will leave them off. Says one Alabama Republican: "When it gets down to a brawling contest where emotions heat up, Wallace will kill Brewer. That's George's kind of fight." The national implications are clear. Wallace remains a national figure though further back than he had hoped; he will have a power base for his 1972 Presidential operations. While regretting the fact that Wallace may have the chance to play spoiler again in 1972, conservative Republicans may find some consolation in the related fact that he maintains a position from which he exerts a rightward pull on Nixon. The "Wallace threat" is, after all, an excellent *raison d'être* for the "Southern strategy."

The French Have a Law for It

In May 1968 mass rioting, begun on university campuses, and the general strike that the rioting provoked, pushed France to the edge of revolution. Pompidou and de Gaulle managed to pull their country back from general collapse, but smaller-scale riotings, mostly on or near campuses, by students and pseudo-students whom the French have come to call "wreckers," have continued to the increasing annoyance, disgust and fury of the general public. The Pompidou government is determined to stop them. To that end it has introduced a bill that was approved April 30 by the National Assembly, 368-94, and is now before the Senate.

Existing French laws, like our laws, have revealed their inadequacy in dealing with the contemporary type of riot. Buildings and equipment are wrecked or burned, people injured or killed, vehicles destroyed, administrators locked in and terrorized, thoroughfares blocked, etc., by mobs. Some individuals are arrested. Under existing laws and prevailing court rulings, the specific illegal action of each specific individual must be proved by specific evidence. But of course the accused individuals deny guilt and their companions either lie or stay silent. Moreover, in the general melee, when the police and troops have a good many other things to do, it is difficult to note and remember exactly who does what when. So most of the rioters get away altogether unpunished, or with convictions for minor misdemeanors.

The new French law comes to direct grips with these problems of the contemporary riot—the "new forms of delinquency," as the French put it. Under its provisions all persons who have voluntarily taken part in an assembly that carries out illegal acts become thereby subject to both civil and criminal sanctions. They may get jailed for up to two years and they share financial liability for the damages done, without its being necessary to prove their personal part in the vandalism or mayhem. There are much heavier penalties for leaders and organizers. Another provision extends the law of trespass from private homes to public buildings devoted to "administrative, scientific or cultural purposes": i.e., makes it a crime to take over a college administration building or laboratory or to break into a professor's or administrator's office.

The theoretic basis of this law is related to juridical treatment of conspiracy, and to assignment of responsibility as "accessory after the fact." Unquestionably it modifies the "guilt is individual" concept that has been carried to its most extreme point by our Supreme Court in its decisions relating to membership in admittedly subversive organizations. The new French law, like common sense, accepts at least a part of the idea of "guilt by association," more exactly, "guilt by *voluntary* association." It has been bitterly fought by the French leftists and many of the French intellectuals. However, it is not at all a sudden panic-reaction on the part of the French. It is the juridical conclusion drawn from two years of careful reflection on the nature of these "new forms of delinquency" and what can be done to counter them. Its text, and its consequences when it goes into effect, after its almost certain approval by the French Senate, deserve our most careful study. The riot bell is most surely one that tolls as loudly for us as for Frenchmen.

Notes & Asides

Sire:

Here I am midway between Carbondale (S.I.U.) and Cairo (United Front et al.), fortified by a goodly supply of Dutch Master Coronas, Vivaldi's "La Stravaganza" and a copy of the *Quotations from Chairman Bill*.

Let the dervishes howl without—be assured that in my caravanserai sanity reigns in all its radiance.

Pete Bradford
Mounds, Illinois 62964

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I've been sick with the flu all week and have written two or three letters, one to Mike Douglas telling him I'm sick of all his liberal lefty friends and another to our daily paper commentating on "Three boys on a Safari." I didn't like what one kid told the Nigerian black boy about how we (the Americans) were always cheating the Negro and the Jews. Isn't that a gem? Well

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anyway dear, I got my white sweatshirt and had Wm. F. Buckley Jr. put on it and then this grey-haired lady (me) put it on and everyone kept saying Wm. F. Buckley Jr. —who's he? The clods. Well as I was saying. . . . Oh yes you keep sending me letters to take your magazine and dear I already do and have for two or three years now. Save your postage stamps. I'm working on another couple of friends for you. As a matter of fact I sent one a gift subsc. for Xmas.

Gee I wish I could go outside.

Adoringly,
(Mrs.) Alva Townsend
20836 Bayside Ave.
St. Clair Shores, Mich.

Dear Bill:

W. H. von Dreele's poem, "W. C. Problems" (NR XXII, No. 13, p. 344), affronted one of the lesser known oppressed minority groups. On their behalf I submit this non-negotiable demand for equal time:

Von Dreele reports it made him wan
To hear explosions in his "john."
Please let him know it made us grim
To read his hackneyed eponym!

We'd understand if he turned green
When bombs went off in his latrine,
And sympathize for lost élan
From detonations in his can.

No man's expected to look dapper
If sappers dynamite his crapper
Or to appear serene and spiffy
When TNT destroys his biffy.

But why the "john"? Please use your "head"
And pick some other word insead.
All Johns arise! Heed this appeal:
Why don't *we* call it "the von Dreele"?

Sincerely,
John A. Dooling, M.D.
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Mr. Buckley,

Thank you very much for the mention of our need of an office in NATIONAL REVIEW. This led to our obtaining six rooms at 25 Jane Street from Mr. Arthur C. Ward of P. E. Guerin, Inc. This provides not only ample space, but excellent access to public transportation which is vital to the effectiveness of the office.

We have begun to renovate the office and move our equipment into it, and should be fully operational by the time you receive this letter. Our only problem at the moment is obtaining furniture with which to put our new office to most effective use. I hate to impose on your kindness, but if you know of anyone with spare furniture of any type we could certainly put it to good use.

Yours sincerely,
Kurt D. Rogerson
Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom
245 East 80th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
(Ph. 861-9760)

Dear Sirs:

NR has done it with the help of David Brudnoy [May 5]. You've elevated 'mother' to four-letter word status.

NATIONAL REVIEW has made clear its policy about obscenities—not to use 'those words' itself and to quote other's use with ------- (but give enough info so we all know what the words are).

NR seems something like the sweet young thing who talks about the birds and bees and all that stuff.

Are we conservatives so fragile that u, c, and k's will break our necks but dashes will not harm us?

R. D. Sommers
20 Third Ave.
Berea
Ohio 44017

Dear Mr. Sommers: Our policy, as stated eighteen months ago, is to spell out the words when necessary, but otherwise, pas de baissant autours. *—WFB*

Dear Bill:

It should have been obvious even to you, I would have thought, that the reason one confuses the *National Enquirer* and the NATIONAL REVIEW is because they have comparable standards of wit, taste, intelligence and reliability. I am interested to see you so sensitive on this point.

As for your decision to excommunicate me (again), I fear that this is a weightier matter from your viewpoint than from mine. The notion that the withdrawal of your approval must, of course, bring your adversaries immediately to their knees could commend itself only to an egomaniac. And, lest you are in doubt, you have my permission to publish this letter too.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Dear Arthur:

It is obvious to me that only someone who had difficulty in distinguishing between the *National Enquirer* and NATIONAL REVIEW could have written such works of history as you have written. Nor have I intended to suggest that I have driven you to your knees, merely that you should spend more time on them before presuming to challenge,

Your patient nemesis,
Wm. F. (Envy His Rhetoric) Buckley Jr.

Next week, McSloy strikes back. **—WFB**

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CATO

OPEN OPTIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Although President Nixon described his decision to move into Cambodia as being taken without regard to domestic political considerations, Administration insiders suggest that the President did think seriously about the political consequences. The prognosis was good. "When the public thinks about Vietnam, it thinks about indecision," commented one Administration source. "The decision to go into Cambodia means we are finally doing something."

The House can be counted as firmly on the President's side in the Cambodia move: hence the Chief Executive's suggestion that the foreign affairs committees of both houses meet with him to discuss the decision. In suggesting a joint meeting, the President hopes to defuse the talk of a constitutional crisis coming from members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Opposition in the Senate to the Cambodia move is, of course, strong, but conservative senators are wondering if their doveish colleagues aren't for once too far removed from their constituencies. There was no massive public reaction against the President's move, and already some Senate Foreign Relations Committee liberals were beginning to hedge their bets.

Administration strategists see three things working in their favor. Besides popular admiration for decisive action in a war that has been singularly devoid of it, many people consider that for once they are being told the truth about Vietnam, good or bad. The move into Cambodia was described by the President as what it is, and not an action by advisers or tactical support units. And the Administration stands to gain considerable political clout because of overreaction on campuses. The press has given extensive coverage to such incidents as the blockage of U. S. Highway 1 by students at the University of Maryland. The Administration is confident that the public's patience with all such demonstrations is already exhausted.

Supporters of the President within the Administration are quick to point out that the move into Cambodia is consistent with the President's reiterated determination to take action if the Communists escalate the war. It proves the United States still has options in Southeast Asia. Already there is an undercurrent of talk in Washington that one of those options is a move into North Vietnam.

Home Rule for D.C.?

Prospects are that the D.C. Crime Bill will be a long time in conference committee. The bill is something of a legislative conglomerate, dealing with a number of things besides crime; much of the legislation affects the day-to-day running of the District's affairs. The bill has attracted national attention because its fate will have implications for the battle against crime across the nation and also for the District home-rule battle.

John Dowdy (D., Tex.) of the House District Committee, which has the most power of any congressional committee dealing with District affairs, is handling the House's position in conference committee. And although no one doubts that a crime bill will finally emerge to satisfy both House and Senate, Dowdy is in no great hurry to bring things to a conclusion, and GOP members of the House Committee are not pushing him.

Conservatives in the House have rallied around Dowdy's delaying tactics because they feel that an indictment of Dowdy on charges of accepting a $25,000 bribe is a political ploy designed to embarrass opponents of home rule. The indictment against Dowdy was brought by U.S. Attorney for Maryland Stephen S. Sachs, a holdover from the Johnson Administration but respected by the White House for his even-handed work. Recent White House refusal to grant a pardon to former Congressman Thomas Johnson, now beginning a six-month prison sentence, was partly based on a fear that the pardon would seem a slap at Sachs, who secured Johnson's conviction.

House District Committee Chairman John McMillan (D., S.C.) feels that Dowdy is being victimized by liberals pushing for immediate D.C. home rule. Republicans on the Committee are acquiescing in McMillan's position and refusing to commit themselves to an early vote on an Administration-backed proposal to provide the District with a non-voting delegate in the House. Joel Broyhill (R., Va.), who has some sympathy with Dowdy, will probably oppose the bill, and Ancher Nelsen (R., Minn.) has not yet committed himself.

It is doubtful that the prosecution of Dowdy has much to do with the home-rule fight. But because of the strong feeling of some Committee members that it does, little legislation for the District besides the crime bill will emerge this session. Republicans like Nelsen anticipate that the District will in fact get at least one non-voting delegate before the first term of the Nixon Administration is over.

Would You Believe . . . ?

Straw in the wind? Very discreetly, the Federal Power Commission is seeking to abandon its function of regulating natural gas prices. The theory is that since natural gas is in short supply, the public will best be served if producers set their own, competitive prices. The position is valid enough, provided the Department of Justice keeps an eye on producers lest they conspire to fix prices.

The move has a special significance: Can anyone remember the last time a federal agency voluntarily gave up one of its powers? Might some of the other agencies follow suit? □

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JAMES BURNHAM

FINLANDIZATION?

THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT

Bad Godesberg—The ambassador-host shepherded the lingering men into the wake of the ladies moving toward the salon, permitting himself a smiling ambassadorial sort of *mot* at the expense of his American guest: "We forbid all segregation in this house." But the ladies, like other recipients of integrationist favors, had their own ideas, and the men soon found themselves isolated with their coffee and brandy in a corner ghetto. The talk moved placidly over familiar surfaces.

The ambassador-guest had been his government's UN delegate for a number of years, and he spoke of that assignment as a diplomat's dream wherein political duties were never too onerous to interfere with the vigorous round of New York parties. The question was decorously raised why Mr. Nixon had so long delayed replacement of his man in Paris. The junior diplomat proved himself adept and elegant at phrasing his agreements with his seniors. The political correspondent of the great newspaper—"as influential a man as any in Bonn," the junior diplomat had remarked in an earlier aside—was amusing about the dispute over wine that had nearly broken up the Common Market. Each had something to say when the American wondered whether noticeable changes had come with the new Chancellor.

"At least *something* new is happening now, there's *something* to gossip about," said the ambassador-host, who had been stationed a good many years in this least lively of Western capitals. "Only in foreign policy, of course," the journalist quickly added. "You Americans are always confusing 'social democrat' with 'socialist.' In domestic affairs Brandt is no more socialist than Erhard was. He is changing nothing. But these moves of his on the Eastern front are a real break, and it is amusing to watch him." "And whatever one's general views," urged the ambassador-guest, "surely it is a good thing to bury the dead past and to try to warm up relations with them after all this while. One has got to give Brandt credit for taking the initiative." "Though of course," the journalist noted, "he also thinks it a vote-winning gambit."

Farewell to the Fleet

The talk swerved to touch on the relaxing effect of de Gaulle's exit, Nixon's troubles over Supreme Court nominees, the perils of diplomacy in Latin America, Bonn's traffic chaos brought by the building of the new freeway . . . A pause led the American to ask a question that had lurked in the talk about Brandt's opening to the East.

"Let us suppose the isolationist pressures compel Nixon to pull most of the American troops back from Europe. And let us assume he responds to the deepening Mideast crisis by ordering the Sixth Fleet to leave the Mediterranean. . . ."

Even before he reached his question mark, a triple answer came like those simultaneous exclamations specified in a Shakespearean crowd scene. *Ambassador-host*—"A disaster!" *Ambassador-guest*—"Inconceivable!" *Journalist*—"Catastrophic!" And from the junior diplomat, a murmur of dismay.

"But," the American protested, "when you were praising Brandt's Eastern flirtation just now, you assured me things in that camp had changed, that there was no longer any danger of war or a Soviet invasion."

The diplomats had abruptly dropped the diplomatic mode; they had been provoked into talking, for a few minutes, like the trained and serious professionals they all were. The ambassador-guest, whose conversation until then had been rather tritely chic, became first spokesman, and his voice hardened: "It is not a question of war or invasion in any conventional sense, as you know very well. That would continue to be virtually excluded. We have a word for what would actually take place, granted your assumption—the Finlandization of Western Europe." (That "we" was eloquent; we professionals talking among ourselves, we whose business it is to understand these matters.) "A sizable reduction of American strength in Europe, above all the withdrawal of the Sixth Fleet—conceding the Mediterranean to the Red Fleet, that is to say—would mean that Europe would be strategically outflanked. The political consequences would follow."

The journalist continued, as if from a script prepared beforehand: "The process would not necessarily be quick, but its direction would be inevitable. Western Europe would shift from the American to the Soviet gravitational field. The internal economic and social as well as political affairs of the West European nations would have to be conducted within the parameters set by Moscow; in the last analysis, even the appointment of a key cabinet minister would become, as in Finland, subject to a Soviet veto."

Seeing Is Believing

The ambassador-host added a corollary. "The continuing existence of a nuclear deterrent force on your territory and in your submarines could not prevent the change in the strategic equation. That force might protect America itself—for a while—but it would not have a credible role in protecting Europe. It is only the American *presence* in Europe and the Mediterranean that relates American power credibly to the defense of Western Europe. And without American power, Western Europe cannot be defended. Some day, perhaps, if the Common Market comes to fruition in a politically united Europe, but that day is not in sight."

Like most European diplomats, these were well versed in the history of nations and peoples. They were reminding their visitor that an imperial power is not allowed to resign. □

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COVER STORY

The liberal solution to most problems is "let's pass a law." Let's not, says Milton Friedman, and shows how in three fields—radio-television, higher schooling, welfare—private initiative could do a better job

The Market v. the Bureaucrat

MILTON FRIEDMAN

There is today a widespread tendency to take it for granted that growth of population, advancing technology, expanding output of goods and services, increasing complexity of our industrial structure—the whole set of developments we label economic growth—necessarily repress individuality and enforce conformity. In the words of the brochure describing a recent symposium, "many thoughtful persons view these [scientific and technological] advances as creating new forms of bondage and as grave threats to the integrity of the individual."

I believe that this view is, to say the least, a great oversimplification. True, new forms of bondage are being created, and there are grave threats to the integrity of the individual. But the history of mankind—from primitive times to the present—is mostly a record of bondage, of tyranny of man over man. We do not need any sophisticated analysis to explain why freedom is threatened. Tyranny is the natural state of mankind. The remarkable thing about our era is the freedom we enjoy, not the threats to that freedom. And these threats themselves are not an inevitable consequence of the growing complexity of our society. They are a result of the social policies we have chosen to adopt. They are a result of a lack of understanding, not of harsh inevitability.

The causal relation between growth and freedom is almost the opposite of that which is commonly assumed: freedom produces growth and prosperity, and growth and prosperity in turn provide greater scope for freedom—though imperfect man may fail to grasp this

potentiality and may instead use his material wealth to exploit his fellow man, in which case he will also destroy his prosperity.

Whether we look at the Golden Age of ancient Greece, or at the early centuries of the Roman era, or at the Renaissance, we see that widening individual freedom and quickening of economic growth went hand in hand—and that when freedom was destroyed, economic decline was not far behind. To come closer to our own times, the breaking down of feudal relations, the loosening of control over economic activity by the state, the widening of the scope assigned to individual initiative produced the great scientific and technological advances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is no accident that the industrial revolution which followed had its home in Britain, where the ties of bondage were loosest, or that it had its greatest flowering after Britain adopted laissez faire as a national policy, or that the leadership moved to the United States at a time when we too had limited intervention by the government into economic affairs.

These developments illustrate that great insight which Adam Smith expounded so effectively. The free market enables millions of men to cooperate with one another in complex tasks without compulsion and without centralized control. The invisible hand of the free market, whereby men who intend only to serve their own interests are led to serve the public interest, is a far more sensitive and effective source of both growth and freedom than the dead hand of the bureaucrat, however well intentioned he may be.

Growth and development do of course produce new problems of reconciling the freedom of one man with the freedom of others—problems of congestion, pollution, and so on. And many of these can best be met by coordinated action through governmental channels. But growth and development also reduce the problems of preserving freedom in other areas. For example, growth of population and improvements in transportation and communication have greatly widened the scope for effective competition and so have reduced the need for governmental concern with monopolistic behavior—though unfortunately, as most notably in transportation itself, we have often reacted by protecting entrenched monopoly from competition rather than taking full advantage of the new scope for competition.

Whatever may be the net balance of the effects of growth, the most obvious threats to the integrity of the individual have a very different source: in area after area of our national life, we have adopted policies that unnecessarily threaten the integrity of the individual. In each of these, there are alternative

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policies that would both promote our objective better and strengthen individual freedom. The areas in which this is true are varied, and they refer to many different aspects of our lives. Yet there runs through them a common element: the substitution of bureaucratic organization and control for market arrangements, the rejection of Adam Smith's great insight.

I shall illustrate this generalization by discussing three specific areas: radio and television, schooling, and public welfare. I have chosen three different areas out of the many available to show under how varied a guise the same basic issue arises.

Radio and Television

Here are marvelous technological achievements that we are failing to exploit effectively. We have a "wasteland" of highly repetitive, standardized programs directed at the great masses—which by itself is all to the good—but with all too little in the way of imaginative, exploratory, or simply high quality programs directed at minorities. The medium promotes deadening uniformity rather than variety, diversity, and individuality. The preferences of a minority, however strong they may be, must give way to the preferences of the mass audience, however weak.

Equally important, a medium that could promote vigorous and lively discussion of public issues seldom ventures into controversial areas. Truly free speech is held in check by the fear of losing a license and is replaced by "fair" speech. The occasional slightly venturesome documentary or exposé is trumpeted far and wide as a sign of the independence of the station or network. The magnificent coverage of many news events—from the Olympics to the moon landing by American astronauts—shows the potential of the medium, so far largely unexploited.

This indictment is widely accepted. What has been the response? A string of privately supported educational television stations and, because these seemed inadequate, the enactment of a new Public Broadcasting Act under which the Federal Government will subsidize the production and distribution of programs. Talk about carrying coals to Newcastle. As we shall see, the problem is that there is now too much control by the Federal Government—through the Federal Communications Commission—over radio and television. To cure this, we establish another federal body to be a monopoly supplier of programs. To quote my colleague, Ronald Coase, who dubbed the measure "a wholly objectionable poverty program for the well-to-do," "the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 is unnecessary, inefficient, inequitable and subject to dangerous political influences."

I suggest that the key to the present defect is the federal licensing of broadcasters. This gives the Federal Communications Commission the power of life and death over a station. If a person wants to start a newspaper, and has the capital, he needs merely buy a printing press, rent a location, publish his paper, and see if he can get the public to buy it. Once he is in business, his readers and advertisers are the only ones he must satisfy. But if he wants to set up a radio or television station, he also must convince the FCC that he is a person of good moral character and that there is a "need" for additional facilities. This may not be easy to do—ask those who have tried to get a license for Austin, Texas. And once the FCC grants him a license, he must satisfy it that he is presenting a "balanced" and "fair" program.

If newspapers were subject to the same controls, the *New York Times* would have to change its motto to "All the news that the FCC believes fit to print," and neither the *New York Times* nor the *Chicago Tribune*, as presently constituted, could conceivably get a clean bill of health. Fortunately, newspapers developed in an earlier era and have so far escaped control. Had they first developed in, say, the 1920s or 1930s, there would almost surely be today a Federal Publications Commission—as indeed was recommended in the famous Hutchins Report on the press.

One specific measure taken by the FCC has perhaps done more than any other single thing to stifle diversity and enshrine mediocrity. That is its refusal to authorize subscription or pay television. The FCC has ruled that we may not spend our money to see programs we wish to see. We must accept the programs that are provided as a by-product of advertising. We cannot, even if we wish to, pay to suppress the advertising, except by contributing to and watching an educational television station.

To understand how this measure has such a far-reaching effect in enshrining mediocrity in television and radio, let us consider what the effect would be of applying the same rule in a comparable area to which it is not now applied. Suppose it were legislated that reading matter could not be sold but must be given away, that all newspapers must be like the "throwaways" now often given out, that all magazines must be available without charge, financed only by the revenue from the advertising they contain or by a subsidy from a church, foundation, or other organization, and similarly that any books published must be financed in the same way and distributed without charge to readers. It takes no great act of the imagination to see the results: those books and magazines that appeal to relatively small groups with specialized tastes would disappear. Few if any advertisers would deem it worthwhile to pay for the publication of avant-garde poetry in order to be able to insert pages extolling the virtue of Gleem or Dream or Steem. Far better to put those pages in a Western that millions would pick up and read avidly. The book publishing industry would become like television—a wasteland of Westerns, mysteries, and popular romances, with an occasional serious work appealing to a limited audience sponsored by a firm trying to improve its public image, or just with unusual tastes.

Your immediate reaction will be to regard this as a fantastic horror story and to dismiss it out of hand. But let me urge you not to let yourself be a victim of the tyranny of the status quo. The distribution of reading matter is almost strictly comparable to the distribution of television programs. I have not seen any argument in favor of forbidding pay television that does not apply with roughly equal force to forbidding pay publishing. And conversely—no argument in favor of pay publishing that does not apply with roughly equal force to permitting pay television. The two strike us as "of course" different only because they happen to have developed differently.

Why has the FCC prohibited pay television these past many years, except for a few so-called "pilot" projects? Because the networks are firmly established as the dominant distributors of national advertising, and they believe, rightly or wrongly, that they would fare less well than they do now if a new way of distributing programs were permit-

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ted. The networks exert enormous influence over the FCC—and it is inevitable that they should, just as it is inevitable that the railroads will exert enormous influence over the ICC, the banks over the Federal Reserve, and the producers of automobiles, over the federal agency to promote automobile safety. If the FCC had not stood in the way, pay television would now be a major factor, and the range, quality, and variety of television programs would now be far closer to that of book publishing.

How can we take advantage of the potentialities of television and radio and eliminate the present standardizing hand of the state? By abolishing the FCC and having a truly free radio and television to parallel a free press. But I will be told, that is absurd. There are only a limited number of television channels; someone must assign them. It is regrettable that we should have to have federal control over radio and television, but that simply reflects the technological characteristics of the industry. Nothing of the sort. There are only a limited number of pieces of land on which a newspaper plant can stand. Why does that not require assignment of land? Because there is private property in land and the allocation of land can be performed by purchase and sale.

Precisely the same solution is available for radio and television. Let the FCC auction off to the highest bidders the right to specified channels now embodied in licenses (for example, the right to broadcast on a specified frequency from a specified location at specified times at a specified maximum power). That was what the Federal Government did a century and more ago with its land. The FCC could then be abolished. The private owners could trade these rights back and forth and rearrange them in various ways to make them more valuable. There would be problems of interference—of one man trespassing on another's frequency—but they would be handled as trespassing on land now is, through the regular courts.

I cannot here elaborate this proposal and consider all its implications in full detail, even if I had the competence to do so. Let me only state that this is not a crackbrained, off-the-cuff suggestion. It is a proposal that has been extensively studied, in particular by R. H. Coase. All the serious objections raised have been examined. There is little doubt that it is a perfectly feasible way to handle the allocation and use of radio and television channels without special government control, little doubt that it would produce a far more efficient use of the radio spectrum, in many different ways, than prevails today. And there is little doubt that it would convert what is today a homogenizing influence into a major force widening the avenues for the expression of individuality.

Schooling

For reasons of space, I shall restrict myself to higher schooling—or as it is euphemistically called, higher education. (Personally, I prefer the more descriptive term because not all schooling is education nor all education schooling.) I may, however, note that lower schooling offers an equally striking example of my main theme.

The trend is clear. Government expenditure on higher schooling has been growing rapidly. A steadily increasing fraction of students is enrolled in governmentally run institutions. There are more complaints about the impersonality of the mega-universities, the neglect of the individual student, the standardization and routinization of the educational process. And the private schools, like Reed, that provide a welcome contrast and that have been the leaders in fostering quality education, find it more and more difficult to compete for students and funds with the governmental institutions. They are themselves becoming increasingly dependent on tax monies for support.

These developments raise two separate issues: First, how much of a governmental subsidy, if any, there should be for higher schooling; second, how any subsidy should be distributed.

Strictly speaking, only the second of these issues is relevant for my theme—how we have been unnecessarily curbing individuality by the social policies we have been following. But I cannot forbear from a few comments on the first issue, because I feel so strongly about it.*

The present use of tax monies to subsidize higher schooling seems to me one of the great suppressed scandals of our day. Compare the young men and women who receive this subsidy by attending state-supported institutions with their contemporaries who do not go to college at all. The youngsters in college come from higher income families than those who are not in college—but both sets of families pay taxes. More important, the youngsters in college will on the average have higher incomes for the rest of their lives than the youngsters who do not go to college. We have imposed a major tax on the poor to subsidize the not-so-poor. We in the middle- and upper-income classes have in this area—as I am afraid we have in many others—conned the poor into supporting us in a style that we take to be no more than our just deserts.

It is eminently desirable that every young man and woman, regardless of the wealth or religion or color or social standing of his or her family, have the opportunity to get whatever schooling he or she can qualify for, *provided that he or she is willing to pay for it, either currently or out of the subsequent higher income that the schooling will make possible*. There is, that is, a strong case for assuring the availability of loans or their equivalent, by governmental means, if necessary. There is no case that I can see for providing subsidies.

Having relieved myself of these obiter dicta, let me turn to the second question: How should any subsidy be distributed? Currently, we distribute the subsidy primarily by having the government run institutions of higher learning and by charging tuition to students that is far below the costs incurred on their behalf. This is both inequitable and inefficient. Moreover, it is this practice, much more than the subsidization of higher schooling, that promotes conformity and threatens individuality.

Under current arrangements, the state of Oregon says to its young men and women, "If you meet certain academic standards, we shall automatically grant you a scholarship worth something like fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars a year regardless of 'need'—provided that you are smart enough to go to the University of Oregon or Oregon State. If you are so perverse as to want to go to Reed, let alone to Stanford or Harvard or Yale or the University of Chicago, not a penny for you." Surely, it would be more equitable to proceed instead along the lines of the G.I. educational benefits for veterans. Let whatever money the state of Oregon wants to spend on higher

* These comments refer only to schooling, not to government expenditures for support of research, which raise a different set of issues.

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schooling be divided into the appropriate number of scholarships, each of, say, $2000 per year, tenable for four years. Let there be a competitive exam —or some other method of selection— and let these scholarships be awarded to individuals to be used to attend any approved institution of their choice that will in turn accept them. If Oregon wants to continue to run the University of Oregon, let that institution charge tuition sufficient to cover its costs, and compete on even terms with other institutions. If it is more attractive to students than other institutions, the University will flourish; if not, it will decline.

Today, there is no reason for faculties and administrators of the existing state institutions to pay any attention to their students, except as this will indirectly affect the legislature which votes them funds. The thing for them to do, as they well know, is to engage in activities that will appeal to the legislature while paying to students the minimum attention that will keep them from being too obstreperous. This is the valid element in the drive for student power.

The arrangement I suggest gives the student a wider range of choice and enables him to exert more influence on the kind of schooling he is offered. It eliminates the present unfair competition between state-run and other institutions.

It gives the faculties and administrations of state-run institutions an incentive to serve their students. It would open up the opportunity for new institutions to enter the field and seek to attract customers. The strengthening of competition would promote improvements in quality and foster diversity and experimentation. Because the money would go to individuals, not institutions, it would be clear who are the recipients of the subsidy and bring into the open this question of who should be subsidized. Also, it would give the individual greater freedom of choice, greater opportunity to express his own values and to develop his own capacities as effectively as possible.

All of these are advantages of the scholarship plan. But they are also, to speak cynically, the major political obstacles to its enactment. As usual in such matters, the people who would benefit from the change do not know that they would; the vested interests that have developed under the present arrangement will recognize the threat to them at once.

Public Welfare

The methods by which we subsidize the poor have the same defects as those by which we subsidize the rich: they involve giving too much power to bureaucrats to determine who gets the subsidy and in what form, too little power to the people who are being subsidized, and too little incentive to them to reduce the subsidy they receive.

The defects of our present welfare program are by now widely recognized. In the midst of great prosperity, the welfare rolls mount. Once on the rolls, many people find it difficult to get off. We have been creating a permanent class of welfare recipients, who devote their energies to wheedling a bit more welfare for themselves or bringing pressure to bear to improve welfare payments rather than to raising their own incomes to a level at which they can be off welfare. We have an army of welfare workers administering the system. They find themselves bogged down in paper work, engaged in being policemen and spies, with little time left to perform their proper function—helping the unfortunate people who are under their charge. The whole process is degrading for the welfare recipient and demeaning for the welfare workers.

What is wrong? At bottom, I conjecture, the belief that the state through administrative machinery can deal with persons needing assistance in the way one person spending his own money can deal with another person. If, out of charitable inclinations, a man takes an interest in someone suffering misfortune, it is entirely understandable that he may want to make a detailed investigation of that person's circumstances, to assure himself that the misfortune is real, that he will want to explore the items needed and provide help for those he thinks most urgent,

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"It's the other way around, you dumb-dumb!"

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LETTER FROM BOGOTA

Colombia's Close Call

SELDEN RODMAN

ASSUMING that the vote count was on the level in the April 19 presidential election, probably the only reason that Misael Pastrana Borrero, the candidate of the Conservative-Liberal coalition, won by a slim margin of fifty thousand votes, was that a large number of the frustrated urban masses who supported General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla so vociferously in his campaign didn't vote.

Voting in Colombia has traditionally been the perquisite of the educated elite, that minority which the oligarchy has been able to mobilize through its two (ideologically similar) political parties. From 1830 to 1946, when Colombia had a plantation economy, these parties maintained the religious and landed status quo. From 1948 on, the painful transition to industrialism has been marked by two political phases. The first, touched off by the *bogotazo* of April 9, 1948 when Colombia's first popular leader was assassinated, was the decade of anarchy known as *la violéncia*. In the second phase, the two traditional parties formed their coalition (the *Frente Nacionál*) and managed to make industrialization acceptable by allocating a moderate share of the profits to social benefits and gradual land reform. That honeymoon came to an end when the hard-driving Carlos Lleras Restrepo concluded his legal term of office without finding a successor whom all the factions of the coalition could agree to support.

Another Peron?

General Rojas, the beneficiary of the popular disillusionment with gradualism and good government, is a most improbable *caudillo*. When I interviewed the seventy-year-old candidate and his formidable daughter, Maria Eugenia (the dynamo and brains of his resurgence), the week before the election, he was slumped in an armchair in his parlor, wearing an old mouse-colored sweater, waiting for his daily insulin shot. I would not have believed that this benevolent old gentleman was the bemedaled young officer with the jaunty garrison cap of the posters ("President of the Poor"), had I not seen the original of this fantasy framed in the foyer under a large oil of Christ, the Redeemer. The once-ruthless dictator reminisced of his four years as a student in Angola, Indiana ("my second home"), denied that he would be unfriendly to American business, even allowed that he'd accept our help in fighting *guerilleros* if he needed it. When I asked him how he intended to carry out his promise to make the 6-cent peso worth 50 cents, he astonished me by saying: "Through a drastic regime of austerity. Everyone in my government will have to buy his own car, be his own chauffeur, supply his own gas. I'll have the government make direct contracts with U.S. companies at 25 per cent discounts. Do you realize that people connected with the oligarchy's government buy their cars cheaply in Venezuela to evade the import duties!"

Maria Eugenia, in contrast, is a tough cookie. A big, belligerent woman with a protruding lower lip, she talks the language of power not populism. She didn't deny that the Communists were supporting her father's campaign, and she was proud to be compared with Eva Peron. "Evita was a great woman, and her husband is a great man." When I asked her if it was true that Pérez Jiménez, the exiled Venezuelan dictator who was elected to the Senate last year by a huge vote, was supporting the Rojas campaign financially, she said: "He would if he could. My father and I admire him tremendously, and so do the Venezuelans. Ask them!"

Pérez Jiménez' popularity, like Rojas', is based on the millions he lavished on roads, schools and housing projects when in power. Rojas' dictatorship (1953-57) also happened to coincide with peak coffee prices. The urban unemployed remember these blessings, and the sharecroppers credit Rojas (with some justice) for ending the rural *violéncia*. The price paid in police terror and a muzzled press didn't affect them. And the subsequent 6.5 per cent annual increase in Colombia's gross national product has been more than offset by an 8.7 per cent rise in the cost of living. Moreover the use of taxes to finance social reforms hit the lower-middle class hardest while at the same time slowing up the rise in labor's standard of living. Rojas' pitch—that the nation's natural resources and production should be used for current consumption rather than be taxed and invested in development projects—was wildly popular. The radical students who think in terms of "getting even" with the state rather than making it work, and whose principal target is American "imperialism," deserted the Establishment altogether when Lleras broke a strike in March by closing the National University for six months.

Touchstone of Unrest

Lleras' successor, Pastrana, whom I interviewed the same week, is an amiable, intelligent administrator who doesn't talk the language of the people or have any sense of urgency in resolving the Establishment's "credibility gap" with new ideas. A big man, bronzed and handsome in a bland way, he talked of "continuity with innovation" and accelerating the pace of land reform to make more sharecroppers landowners. But with Rojas' party now controlling a third of both houses and the *Frente Nacionál* split three ways, there is some doubt that Pastrana will be able to govern by democratic procedures at all.

Columbia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Uruguay and Chile are the only remaining countries of South America not governed by the military, and all but Venezuela are in trouble. Ecuador's perennial president, José María Velasco Ibarra, hangs on by stealing some of the Marxist-antigringo thunder the military have invoked so successfully in Peru and Bolivia. In Chile, the moderate Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei Montalva, is very likely to be succeeded in September by the same Socialist-Communist coalition that almost beat him four years ago. Uruguay's top-heavy welfare state is threatened by the Marxist Tupamaros, an underground urban guerrilla movement that holds up banks and kidnaps their presidents seemingly at will. The failure of the Alliance for Progress on the one hand, and the weak-

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MIRV AND ABM

Why Our Defenses Are Down

MARK BERNARD SCHNEIDER

MIRV is one of the most significant and most misunderstood recent developments in strategic weaponry. Administration spokesmen cite MIRV as one of the primary justifications for the Safeguard ABM system, while its opponents contend that MIRV makes Safeguard both unnecessary and unworkable.

The debate is misleading. It is suggested, for instance, that U.S. defense planning is dominated by an insidious Military-Industrial Complex that is forcing the expenditure of billions of dollars on unnecessary and unworkable weaponry. In reality the decisions to deploy MIRV and Safeguard are probably two of the most obviously necessary actions ever taken by the Department of Defense.

The term MIRV refers to multiple independently targetable warheads. MRV designates more primitive multiple warheads, perhaps three to a missile, that are ejected at a single target and which can land only within a few miles of one another. MIRV uses an aiming device called a "bus" whose operation Dr. John Foster, head of Pentagon research and development, describes: "After the main booster has cut off, the bus keeps making minute adjustments to its speed and direction and after each adjustment it ejects another warhead." Each MIRV has its own guidance and control system; warheads can be guided to targets hundreds of miles apart.

There are already MRVs in the U.S. and Soviet arsenals. The U.S. has tested MIRVed missiles, and there is evidence that the Soviets also have done so. "My own judgment in this matter," says Dr. Foster, "is that the Soviet triplet is a MIRV and that it had little other function than the attack of large numbers of hard targets." Secretary Laird has mentioned the possibility of five large warheads being carried by the Soviet SS-9.

MIRV was initially developed because of the obvious advantages it would have in any strategic environment. Many potential targets are too small to require the full power of a megaton-range (one million tons of TNT) warhead of a small Minuteman-type ICBM. MIRV provided a mechanism by which a single missile could attack more than one target.

Changes in other areas of strategic weapons technology, however, have radically altered the strategic implications of MIRV. The development of highly accurate guidance systems for MIRV, the increasing vulnerability of Polaris submarines and the Soviet Union's tremendous progress in ballistic missile defense were the main factors behind the U.S. decision to deploy the Safeguard ABM to protect our strategic retaliatory capability. With Safeguard came reliance on MIRVs to penetrate enemy defense. Unfortunately the critics of the ABM, who almost completely dominate the public debate, virtually ignored these changes. They stigmatized MIRV as a doomsday weapon that would allow the U.S. to "overkill" the Soviet Union. The doomsday image of MIRV is based on the fact that the U.S. will be adding thousands of them to its strategic arsenal; much of the contemporary literature on MIRV seems to be based on an implied assumption that each MIRV warhead will have a yield equal to the single warheads it replaces. But this is utter nonsense: It is something like arguing that when one cuts a cake into ten pieces, the result is ten times as much cake. The penetration technique the U.S. is now proposing is saturation—throwing more warheads at a defense than it has interceptor missiles. This is extremely expensive and requires vast numbers of warheads. Without MIRV the cost of penetration would be immense.

When MIRV is changed from an offensive weapon to a penetration aid, the strategic significance of the ABM is completely changed. Against a heavy ABM, the strategic forces now programed for both the U.S. and the Soviet Union for the mid-1970s will not perform as well even on a first strike as will the present strategic arsenals in a second strike situation—that is, after riding out an enemy attack.

The decision to deploy Safeguard was not motivated solely by the possibility that the Soviets will expand their ABM into a heavy system, although this was certainly a contributing factor. Safeguard could only be a small part of any U.S. response to such a threat if the retention of "assured destruction" capability was really believed to be essential (as even most of the ABM opponents contend it is). It was the much more concrete and immediate threat—that of the present Soviet strategic weapons buildup—that motivated Safeguard.

The Nixon Administration has recently declassified the fact that the Soviets will have 25,000 ICBMs by 1975, two-and-a-half times as many as the U.S. The Soviet advantage in deliverable missile payload is likely to be five or more to one. Such a force would be able to knock out, according to the Department of Defense, 95 per cent of the U.S. landbased missile force. (Some critics of the Administration have challenged this figure, claiming that only 80 per cent would be destroyed [as if this alone wouldn't justify the deployment of Safeguard]. There is no doubt, however, that the Soviets will have the ability to destroy virtually the entire U.S. missile force if we do not deploy Safeguard.)

But there are even more impressive Soviet advances possible. The Soviets might increase the rate of their ICBM production, increase the accuracy of their missiles, and improve the yield-to-weight ratios of their warheads, thus allowing more MIRVs of a given megatonnage to be carried. The significance of any of these advances would lie not so much in the few additional missiles that would be destroyed but in the fact that the reliability with which any attack could be launched would dramatically increase.

With the U.S. Minuteman force almost totally destroyed, the only force the U.S. would have to retaliate with would be its bombers and Polaris submarines. There are many reasons why these forces cannot be considered an adequate deterrent.

The Soviets have developed and tested a Fractional Orbital Bomb, the perfect weapon for a surprise attack on bomber bases. They have also begun to

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turn out missile submarines, also useful for surprise attacks against these installations, at the rate of about seven per year. The Safeguard ABM will increase warning time and to some extent defend against these attacks.

The strategic effectiveness of the Polaris fleet is threatened by the Soviet buildup of advanced hunter-killer submarines and the development of satellite-based multi-spectral reconaissance units, capable of continuously tracking U.S. submarines. Such a system would be very expensive, but if we are foolish enough to allow our deterrent to become dependent primarily on a single weapon, its deployment by the Soviets would be very likely.

Other countermeasures to such a one-dimensional U.S. posture would be the deployment of advanced bomber defenses by the Soviets, an action very likely regardless of what the U.S. does. The Soviets already have the most extensive air defense system in the world. Improved air defense weapons now under development which will be operational by the middle 1970s offer the possibility of limiting damage by an attack from existing U.S. bombers to extremely low levels.

If we were to rely solely on Polaris submarines and our obsolete bombers, at the very best we would have the power to inflict only about half the damage to the Soviets that two hundred of their smallest ICBMs could inflict on an undefended U.S. and even this would not be possible if the Soviets deploy a moderate level of ballistic missile defense. While it is true that surviving U.S. Polaris submarines may be able, thanks to MIRV, to throw more warheads at the Soviet Union than the entire U.S. missile force today, it is also true that each of those warheads would have only one-fiftieth to one the yield of existing warheads. ABM critics have totally ignored this; yet it is indispensable to an understanding of the reasons why we are deploying Safeguard, and why we need MIRV.

The MIRVs that will be carried aboard the Poseidon missile will be the smallest ever considered strategic weapons. The largest Poseidon MIRV will probably be on the order of the Hiroshima bomb—fifteen to twenty kilotons. The majority will be much smaller. The reason why such low-yield weapons are being mounted is again related to the problem of survivability and penetration of an enemy ABM. Mounting very large numbers of small warheads would allow a small force of surviving submarines to at least attack a large number of undefended targets, if not totally destroy them.

The ABM has also influenced the design of the warheads themselves, contributing to their low yield. Because of the small payload of the Poseidon (under one ton), designing the missile to carry ten warheads forced the acceptance of the relative low yield-to-weight ratios of nuclear weapons of well under one hundred pounds. Each of these warheads has its own guidance and control system, which reduces the payload that can be devoted to the weapon itself. Each will also contain numerous safety devices to prevent accidental explosions, and this too eats up scarce payload weight. In addition the warhead must be hardened against nuclear antimissile warheads. The only way to protect a warhead from the blast produced by an atmospheric interception by a Sprint-type short-range interceptor is to put it into a sort of armored shell similar to the traditional armor-piercing artillery shell. The difference in yield between a high explosive artillery shell and an armor-piercing shell is well known; the penalty in nuclear weapons design is even greater.

Moreover, simply placing the warhead in an armored shell is not adequate against other nuclear weapons effects. Interceptors produce neutrons, X-rays, heat, etc. Protection against neutrons and X-rays requires considerable additional protection to the critical parts of the bomb firing mechanism. Adequate protection against these effects will not be possible in the Poseidon.

BECAUSE of the low yield of the Poseidon MIRVs at least four or five of them will have to be delivered to any target to do as much blast damage as a one megaton bomb. Since it takes, according to McNamara, four hundred one-megaton warheads to destroy a third of the Soviet Union, it will take 1,600 to 2,000 Poseidon MIRVs to do that much damage. This is probably the maximum number we could count on delivering even if the Soviets had an ABM. Indeed, they will soon have a hundred interceptor missiles operational around Moscow. The Tallinn system is widely deployed over the USSR and it may already have been upgraded to have ABM capabilities. The Soviets are developing an advanced ABM system reported to be similar to our Nike-X. Since they are gaining valuable operational experience with their Moscow deployment, they may be able to deploy the new system very rapidly when testing is completed.

Simply stated, we are deploying Safeguard because without it the Soviets will be able to destroy the vast majority of U.S. strategic weapons in a surprise attack, and may be able to knock out the vital command and control facilities. Even if surviving forces did receive the necessary information to retaliate, the effectiveness of currently programmed forces would radically be degraded by a Soviet deployment of advanced missile and bomber defenses. As currently planned, Safeguard will protect 350 Minutemen II ICBMs. These will each carry about three warheads of perhaps ten times the yield of the largest Poseidon. Safeguard alone would not be an adequate counter to a heavy Soviet ABM, but once undertaken it could rapidly be expanded to other Minutemen bases or to the new so-called "super-hard silos" if they are built. By deploying Safeguard we are buying a critically important option for the preservation of our deterrent. □

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RUSSELL KIRK

READY ACCESS TO HIGHER IGNORANCE

FROM THE ACADEMY

Michigan State University, East Lansing (known in Ann Arbor as "Michigan's udder university," in memory of the days when Michigan State students were the Aggies) has a new president: Dr. Clifton R. Wharton Jr., who happens to be a Negro and a Republican. I have heard Dr. Wharton well spoken of by such gentlemen as Dr. Milton Friedman; and certainly he must be superior to the person who now directs our foreign aid program, MSU's sometime president, Mr. John A. Hannah.

Yet as an alumnus of MSU, I do not rejoice at a recent address by President Wharton in which he declared that Michigan State would pioneer at the great work of "universal higher education." Get everybody into college, whatever age, whatever degree of density: that's the Wharton program. "This approach represents a pilot attempt by a single institution to come to grips with these issues in a systematic way," says the new President. "The concept of an education as a privilege is disappearing and is being replaced by the concept of an education as a right." John A. Hannah could not have said it more smugly.

Perhaps Dr. Wharton's zeal for educationally "disenfranchised" members of "minorities" is redoubled by the painful experience of the University of Michigan in recent weeks—Ann Arbor having been stricken by a black power boycott and strike, the radicals' current demand being that the U of M's enrollment become, pronto, at least 10 per cent black.

Here are Dr. Wharton's three projected reforms to restore "public confidence in the universities":

Universal access to higher education (open enrollment, that is, with subsidies and recruitment).

University participation in the transformation of the society (or institutionalize radicalism; make the militants the Establishment).

Re-establishment of a genuine concern for human values, which have been eroded by specialization and impersonal bureaucracies (so easy to accomplish at MSU, where there are more than forty thousand undergraduates already).

As for the "lack of public support and trust" for universities that Dr. Wharton discerns, I am unable to think of better ways to *increase* that public discontent than to adopt Dr. Wharton's first two reforms. There's room for all in Morrill Hall, nevertheless: Dr. Wharton is eager to attract "disadvantaged white Americans," too; indeed, he really wants *everybody* to enroll at East Lansing. "Life-long education" will replace "educational obsolescence": "As major portions of knowledge become obsolete," Dr. Wharton informs us, "the adult population who graduated ten to twenty years ago will begin to demand that the university provide them with the opportunity to 'retool' or to 'catch up' with the latest developments in a field."

A gentleman even more eminent than Dr. Wharton recently uttered, rather vaguely, some recommendations for universal higher schooling of some sort or other: President Nixon. But I prefer to harken to another figure in the present regime, Vice President Agnew. At Des Moines recently, Mr. Agnew commented upon the capitulation of the University of Michigan's administrators to BAM (Black Action Movement). It is folly, he said, to degrade the standards of a famous university by recruiting the "disadvantaged," of whatever hue, to placate academic demagogues.

The Vice President described "quota" and "open door" policies of admission as perilous to the "natural aristocracy" of American learning. Very unlike Dr. Wharton, Mr. Agnew declared that excellence must not give way to "social goals for which they [the universities] are ill designed and ill equipped." Not in a university, but at a preparatory school, should "compensatory" education be attempted. Universities, he continued, should not be cluttered by "the late-blooming, the under-prepared, and the under-achieving." If we admit the unprepared or the indifferent, we exclude the prepared and deserving students. "Admitting the obligation to compensate for past deprivation and discrimination, it just does not make sense to atone by discriminating against and depriving someone else." So spake Spiro Agnew, who's nobody's fool.

I would be happy to see Mr. Agnew president of Michigan State, though not equally pleased to see Dr. Wharton created Vice President of these United States. Yet I wish President Wharton well. He is the first Negro president of a state university; in my years as student and (for the most part) as professor at MSU, the only person of color on faculty and staff was Dr. Hannah's messenger boy. So there has been some compensation in high places, and that is to the good.

YET if Dr. Wharton thinks he can satisfy the radicals by opening wide MSU's gates, soon he may be a sadder and wiser man. Already the black militants and the SDS are assailing him, his complexion notwithstanding. With folk hungry for power and addicted to violence, those who sit in the seats of the mighty cannot be popular, however conciliatory they grow.

Our big high schools, sufficiently universal and open-doored, already are unmanageable. Jam all high-school graduates, with fat scholarships and no standards, upon the Friendly Campus—and the resulting boredom and confusion will make the present condition of Cornell or Berkeley seem positively blissful. Under those circumstances, Dr. Wharton will be addressed by his grateful charges as "Uncle Tom" and "pig"; and dynamite will be applied to the foundations of the administration building. But who cares about that, so long as Everyman has his Ph.D.? □

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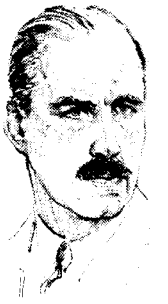
ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN



CONFRONTATION IN CHILE

LETTER FROM LATIN AMERICA

To travel from Lima, Peru to Santiago de Chile is to move from a relatively recent military dictatorship to an "ancient democracy"—ancient by Latin American standards, that is. You have to go far back into Chilean history to find traces of a tyrannical establishment. The reasons for this are the relative racial homogeneity of the country as well as the strong North European, especially the German, military tradition which holds that the army should not be political.

Chile, like Uruguay, has long been Exhibit A of orderly democratic progress in a restless continent, but how long will this stability last? The Christian Democratic Party (PDC)—more democratic than Christian—has made a poor job of running the country economically. The great benefits expected from the agrarian reform have not materialized. There is much unemployment. Inflation continues unchecked and the escudo has declined in comparison with the dollar. In some aspects the masses are better off than before President Eduardo Frei took over, but the PDC gets surprisingly little credit for the economic reforms it has succeeded in carrying out.

To make matters worse, the military mutiny of last October was badly handled by President Frei. It was, after all, a mutiny not an attempted coup. General Viaux Morambo claims all he wanted to do was to dramatize the plight of the underpaid armed forces. He is now free on bail and has become somewhat of a hero in the eyes of the army. But so much was made of the mutiny that the idea of a putsch is now in the air and may have put ideas into the heads of army leaders which they had not thought of before.

This does not mean that an army coup would mean a move to the right. Leftist ideas are rampant in the Chilean army which is why the ideologues of the Left in Santiago are not as anti-army as the outsider might assume.

By late 1969, Chile's political life was already entirely overshadowed by the presidential elections which will take place on September 4 of this year. President Frei cannot succeed himself, so Radomiro Tomíc is the candidate of his Christian Democratic Party. Tomíc, a very gifted orator of Croat descent, thinks Chile should pattern itself on countries like Sweden and Yugoslavia. (He seems unaware of the fact that Sweden, a welfare state, and Yugoslavia, which is trying to mix genuine socialism with worker participation and agrarian freedom, are pursuing very different courses.) Tomíc was once Chilean ambassador in Washington and is known as an admirer of the United States. He is making special efforts to captivate the youth and to appear a genuine "populist."

His main adversary will be former president Jorge Alessandri, a liberal conservative father-figure now in his seventies, who is very popular in the Santiago region, but far less so in the industrial areas of the north and the south. Alessandri would like to pose as the candidate of the uncommitted moderates, but he is in fact widely supported by right-of-center voters who voted for Frei the last time for want of a better choice. Frei ran against a coalition of Marxist Parties. The sign "A-V" (*Alessandri volvera*—Alessandri will return) can be seen all over the place, but it is unlikely that he will get more than a relative majority, in which case the Diet will choose between the two leading candidates—probably Alessandri and Tomíc.

How strong Tomíc will be depends largely on a third, perhaps even a fourth, candidate presented by the far Left. The parties on the Left have caucused several times but have yet to announce their final choice. There might be more than one. The Communists are promoting the poet Pablo Neruda, the Socialists Señor Tarud (of Arab origin), the MAPU (Movement of the United Popular Action) the radically left Catholic Jacques Chonchol, who could well pull out of the race in favor of a more promising candidate. The Catholic camp is divided: Its votes might go to Alessandri (on the right of the Christian Democratic PDC) or to the MAPU (on its left), rather than to the PDC's Tomíc. This disunity is evident in the Catholic University of Santiago where Jacques Maritain once taught. Here, as elsewhere, we see the laity further to the right, politically and theologically, than either the secular or the regular clergy.

It's far too early for a prediction. The polls indicate that nearly 80 per cent of Chilean voters are ideologically uncommitted and would rather vote for a man than for a party. But for the record, the polls now give Alessandri a good 48 per cent. But the voting age has just been lowered to eighteen, and the PDC hopes the very young will be turned off by a man who could be their grandfather. The question was naturally raised whether at eighteen anybody can judge important political matters maturely; but today these have become so complex that at any age the average voter faces them with helpless ignorance.

At a time when so many of the Latin American governments are ruled by military men of the Right and Left, Chile still seems disposed to settle her political differences at the ballot box. □

Yarborough Bites the Dust

Did somebody pass him the Black Spot?
Or was it a witch on the range?
Did Someone Above contribute the shove?
(I've *more* that I'd like to arrange.)
Perhaps there's a Yarborough dolly
That Nixon's been sticking with pins . . . .
Whatever the cause, it's given a pause
To others with liberal sins.

W. H. VON DREELE

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DELECTATIONS

Color It Paradise

J. BRYAN III

SOUTHERNMOST of Portugal's provinces is the Algarve (silent *e*), and midway along the Algarve's southern coast lies the town of Albufeira. Some 4,200 people live here, in white houses that look as if lump sugar had been scattered along the cliff-top above the crescent beach. It's a pretty little place, neat and quiet—for the moment. It's also on the eve of becoming the biggest boom town since Torremolinos, Marbella and Palma de Mallorca. Hotels, apartments and villas are sprouting, and still the clamor is for more. Two years ago, an American friend of mine paid $16,000 for a peasant's cottage and spent $1,800 more on improvements; this spring she turned down an offer of $40,000. A German who bought one and a third acres in 1965 and built a handsome villa at a total cost of $70,000, refused $175,000 and is holding out for $200,000.

A perfect climate, easy accessibility and cheap, pleasant living are the explanation. My four February and March weeks here have brought only one rainy day—*one!* Sea-bathing began early in February, and ever since the beaches have been sprinkled with English and German tourists trying to deepen their tans. The English have long had a special affection for Portugal, and now that they can fly non-stop (and without currency restrictions) from London to Albufeira's airport, Faro, in just over two hours, they are infiltrating the whole Algarve coast. (Americans usually arrive via Lisbon, 35 minutes away by air, 4½ hours by car, and 5½ by rail.)

As for cheap living, my hotel bill averages $65 a week for a room and private bath, with a private balcony bang over the beach; the price includes breakfast, luncheon, laundry, service charges and occasional drinks. There are several restaurants in town, the best of them with an owner-chef who is a Cordon Bleu alumna: you can dine there well for $2.50 (with wine), sumptuously for $3.50. The local delicacies are seafood (I recommend the tiny clams called *amêijoas*, cooked in their broth) and fruit of all kinds.

I have never set up housekeeping here, so I know little about its cost, beyond that a maid gets about $50 a month, and a dozen eggs bring 45 cents. Ten cents will buy a shoeshine, a navel orange, or a *galão*—a glass of hot milk and coffee. A full quart of the local brandy (the English drink it with ginger-ale) stands you $1.42. Wine runs from 35 cents for a quart of local red (and very good it is) up to anything you can afford for a venerable port or madeira. On the other hand, a gallon of gas is $1.10.

The mere cheapness of living gives no idea of its pleasantness. Albufeirenses are thoroughly nice people: honest, friendly, hardworking, clean and quick to greet you with a *"Bom dia!"* They're thrifty, too; during Carnival, I saw a shopkeeper *weigh* a handful of confetti before selling it. Their only fault is a stubborn, unreasonable insistence on using the Portuguese language, which is disagreeable to hear—it's harsh with *ow-n* and *osh* and *oosh* sounds—difficult to understand and almost impossible for a foreigner to speak. (Still, the word for "elegance, gracefulness" is *garbo*. As Dick Martin says, "I'll drink to that!")

The children are as pretty as they are engaging. Even baby girls have their lobes pierced for earrings. Their looks last into their late teens, then disappear abruptly. In fact, the girls themselves seem to disappear; I have seldom met a woman here who I could swear was over twenty yet under fifty. (Even stranger, I have *never* seen a priest!) The girls favor psychedelic color combinations, such as a saffron pullover with a magenta cardigan, a kelly-green skirt and orange or lavender stockings. Their mothers dress entirely in black, from black headkerchief and shawl to black felt shoes, with—if they are peasants—a man's black felt hat on top of all. (I wonder, do the missing age-groups bridge these color-extremes?) The older men too are in black. Clerks and salesmen let their little fingernails grow a half-inch long, to show that they are above manual labor. In brisk weather, the laborers wear dark macinaws with fox-fur at the neck. In all weathers, most of them wear rubber boots, especially if they are fishermen.

Construction is now Albufeira's main industry, but fishing used to be. Some ninety boats still engage in it: sturdy twenty- and thirty-footers, driven by outboards. They are as gay in color as the girls' costumes, but their names are sober and earnest: *My Companion*, *Day-Star*, *Blessed Vincent* (St. Vincent is Albufeira's patron), *Two Daughters*, *God Guide Me on the Deep Sea*. When the boats come home, a tractor hauls them out, and the fishermen squat on the beach and clean their catches, while seagulls yelp and jostle for the offal.

OTHERWISE the beaches are wonderfully clean. There is no seaweed, no driftwood, no debris of any sort, This is fortunate, because a walk on the beach —weather and tide permitting—is almost the only recreation that Albufeira offers. A circulating library (English) is open one hour a morning, three mornings a week. The cinema is open three nights a week, but the programs lean heavily on war and crime films and elderly Westerns. (Last week, *O Massacre de Chicago*; this week, *O Misterio do Castilo Blackmoor*. Back of the Misericordia church is a sign, MUSEU, but in all my visits here I have never found it open. The shops that sell anything of general interest tend to repeat themselves, and you can exhaust them in an hour. Besides *artigos regionais*—glazed earthenware, embroidered linens, tablemats woven of shredded palm-leaf —you can find exquisite gold and silver filigree at the jewelers, and that's about it. There are a few antique dealers, but their main stock is holy images and gilt consoles bought up from decaying churches.

Don't think I am complaining about Albufeira's lack of diversions. It is exactly this that brings me back here, year after year. If you want to paint or write or read or just sit in the sun, inexpensively and undisturbed for weeks on end, this is the ideal place. But hurry! Faint and far away, like the horns of Elfland, I already hear the drone of a thousand portable radios, and the horde that carries them will overwhelm us soon. □

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The Uses of Envy

WILL HERBERG

Envy: A Theory of Social Behavior
By Helmut Schoeck
Harcourt, 408 pp., $7.50

In his *Recollections* of the revolution of 1848 in France, Alexis de Tocqueville repeatedly refers to the part envy plays in the formation of the revolutionary, the subversive, character. From a very different direction, Max Scheler, in his classic study, *Ressentiment*, has much to say that illumines the problem of envy. And a number of other thinkers, historians and social philosophers have adverted to the same problem. But now we have, from the pen of the Austro-German scholar, Helmut Schoeck, a really full-scale study of envy in all its aspects and dimensions. And we wonder how, for so long a time, we could have gotten along without it.

Schoeck examines the phenomenon of envy in human life, individual and collective, from almost every conceivable angle—simply psychological, psycho-economic, psycho-social, psycho-cultural, psycho-political. And, although not everybody will be satisfied with every phase of his treatment at every point, every reader, I think, will recognize that in this work we have a very important, multifaceted study of a very important theme in social behavior.

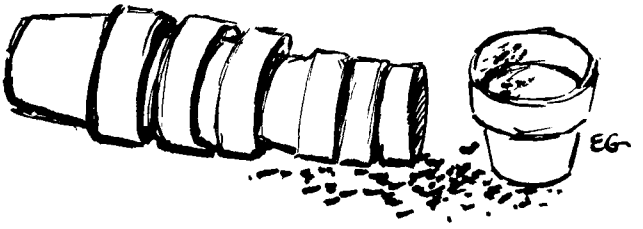
For envy is one of the psychological invariants of history, ever-present and ever-recurrent, along with such invariants as the hostility (variously expressed) of the younger generation against the older, self-aggrandizement, vanity, "griping" and (remember Oxenstierna's classic dictum) stupidity. And it may well be that envy is the most important of these.

ENVY, Helmut Schoek shows, is endemic and universal. It does not have this or that particular cause; it has its multiple manifestations, which are often mistaken for causes, but which are all manifestations of the rooted envy that is inherent in man. It is hard to imagine an aspect of envy that is not to be found treated in this veritable encyclopedia of the subject. There are chapters, really essays, on "Man the Envier," "Envy in Language," "The Envious Man and His Culture," "Envy and Black Magic," "The Envy Barrier of the Developing Countries," "The Psychology of Envy," "Envy as Seen by the Social Sciences," "Crimes of Envy," "The Envy of the Gods and the Concept of Fate," "The Envious Man in Fiction," "Envy as the Subject of Philosophy," "Politics and the Appeasement of Envy," "In Praise of Poverty," "The Sense of Justice and the Idea of Equality," "The Guilt of Being Unequal," "The Eminent in the Society of Equals," "The Society Redeemed from Envy — a Utopia," "Is Ownership Theft?," "Social Indignation," "Envy as Tax Collector," "Social Revolutions," "A Theory of Envy of Human Existence."

This mere enumeration of aspects of envy as Schoeck treats them in the order in which they appear in the book is enough to point up not only the comprehensive scope of the work, but also one of its main shortcomings: It is much more a collection of essays on related themes, than the kind of systematic development we expect in treatises of this kind. There is no internal order in this volume; chapters might just as well be placed in utterly different places in the book, and it would make as much sense (though there are clusters of chapters that hold together, such as the chapters on justice and equality). But, once we recognize this, and don't expect the orderly development that the book does not provide, once we treat the work as a largely random collection of separate essays, we can profit by the scholarship and the insight of the author.

SCHOECK convincingly shows both the preservative and disruptive aspects of envy in the life of society. The disruptive aspects are sufficiently obvious, but they are not all there is to it. Envy plays a positive role in society. In real life, it so often is the dynamic source of the craving for justice that we prize as a high moral ideal; and, in general, it serves to secure a certain conformity of behavior so necessary to social survival. Schoeck, it seems to me, is thoroughly justified in assigning this high positive value to envy in the preservation of society.

Schoeck knows how to put together the insights of others and his own in a creative whole. Realistic (idealists would say cynical) thinkers, Nietzsche above all, have stressed how the demand for justice—or, better, the sense of injustice—is a form of rationalized, or sublimated, envy. And so is the egalitarianism that has plagued Western man for centuries. Schoeck well shows the envious roots of utopianism. In fact, very little of the infinite elaborations and involutions of envy in human life escapes his penetrating eye. →



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RANDOM NOTES

■ PERIODICALS. Milton Rokeach, Michigan State psychologist, is troubled because "the religiously devout are on the average more bigoted, more authoritarian, more dogmatic and more antihumanitarian than the less devout." What worries the professor, it turns out, is that they're less liberal. Among Negroes, for example, Rokeach found that militants ranked "salvation" as fourteenth among eighteen "end-goals" while non-militants ranked it a high third. He surveyed 1,185 Americans (790 Protestants, 322 Catholics, 28 Jews, 45 nonbelievers), found "a world at peace" to be the favorite end-goal, with "an exciting life" pulling up eighteenth and last. "Equality" ranked seventh over-all but second among nonbelievers. "Salvation" rated #11 (#18 among Jews, #18 among nonbelievers, #13 among Catholics, #3 among Baptists). Survey appeared in the April *Psychology Today*, pop monthly for parlor analysts.

■ BOOKS. Hotshot adman Jerry Della Femina has the title of the year for his new kiss-and-tell book on Mad Ave: *From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor* (Simon & Schuster, $6.50). . . . Nancy Mitford comes up with hundreds of unpublished letters and new interviews with friends of the Fitzgeralds for *Zelda*, touted as an unblinking account from idyll through crackup (Harper, $10, June).

Joseph R. McCarthy (Prentice-Hall, $4.95; paper $1.95) offers quotes from the Senator and about him, pro and con. But lest you think it's an open question, editor Allen J. Matusow (why not Harvey? And what ever happend to Paul Hughes?) sanitizes the Introduction with the assurance that, by the time Joe had emerged, Communism was a dead issue in America. . . . James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* being reissued by Arlington House ($6.95, June). . . . Bitchy and readable is the new Something by Gore Vidal, a collection of musings about writers, celebrities and real and fancied (?) girl and boy friends, entitled *Two Sisters* (Jackie and Lee?), due in July from Little, Brown.

For the millionaire film buff who thinks he has everything, Arno Press is coming out in June with *The Literature of Cinema*, 48 volumes of movie books, mostly esoteric, from 1895 to 1950. $450 to July 1, then $509.50. . . . Victor Lasky deserting Gotham for Washington to start on a book about the Nixon Administration. Lasky just wound up a stint as co-author of Sen. George Murphy's autobiography, *Say, Didn't You Used To Be George Murphy?* (Bartholomew House, June, $6.95).

■ MOVIES: Fellini having paved the way with his *Satyricon*, Italian film-makers are hard at work on *The Decameron* and *The Golden Ass*; Luigi Comencini's *Casanova: Youth and Adolescence* is on its way here with Leonard Whiting (*Romeo and Juliet*) in the title role. . . . Now shooting: a U.S.-Norwegian coproduction of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*, starring Tom Courtenay; now shot: Columbia Pictures' *Cromwell*, starring Richard Harris and Alec Guinness.

I must say something about what I feel are the inadequacies and shortcomings of this work. Of course, his primary category is a psychological invariant, and he does deal at some length with the social and cultural dimensions of this psychological invariant; but it does not seem to me that he is concerned with developing the concrete socio-historical contexts in which psychological invariants, envy as well and above all, emerge and elaborate themselves. This is another way of saying that my inclinations are more distinctively sociological—or, rather, historico-sociological—than I sense Schoeck's to be.

Furthermore, I do not think his remarks on the impact of Christianity on the manifestations of envy in individual and social life are adequate, or even accurate. He tends to identify the Christian faith with a simple moralism, a kind of anti-envyism, so to speak. The Christian God does not deal enviously with men, he says. True enough, but the Christian God, let us remember, is a "jealous" God; a bland anti-envyism hardly avails to describe him. The matter, at any rate, is far more complicated than Schoeck would lead us to believe, and deserves further study.

But, from a certain standpoint, the gravest defect of this book is the heavy and wooden style in which it is written. This may be due to the English translation—good English translations of German scholarly works are not easy—but I rather suspect that the same cumbersomeness of style is to be found in the German original itself. It is a not unimportant obstacle to appropriating the scholarship and insights of this work.

But it should not prove an insurmountable obstacle. The serious reader should not be put off by the unfortunate style. Despite everything, the book is eminently worth reading and studying, and how few are the books appearing through the year of which this can be said! □

Do It!
By Jerry Rubin
Simon & Schuster, 256 pp., $2.45 paper

POLITICAL PORTNOY

C. H. SIMONDS

It was at Page 117, where he fondly recalls himself burning dollar bills at the New York Stock Exchange, that I realized who it is Jerry Rubin reminds me of: Alexander Portnoy. For the analogy to be perfect, of course, Alex would have to do his onanistic thing at high noon perched on the Alice-in-Wonderland statue in Central Park, with a Vietcong flag in his other hand and television cameramen flocking around. ("Wish *I'd* done that," Jerry would sigh, feeling suddenly rather old.)

On the non-overt level, the analogy holds. Rubin transcends self-respect, self-admiration, self-gratulation; he exhibits a *ganz anderer* self-obsession, essentially infantile. He might have called this book *Through the Free Speech Movement, the HUAC hearings, the Battle of the Pentagon and Chicago '68 with Me, Jerry Rubin Himself, Ain't I Just a Scream!* He ain't. Like any monomaniac, he is ultimately a bore—and a menace: Always he envisions enormous freaked-out crowds; "WE ARE ALL ONE," he keeps exulting, but what he really means is "WE ARE ALL ME!"

Like many an egomaniac, he is maudlin. He launches his book with a soupy portrait of the old Rubin, collector of baseball cards, digger of *Catcher in the Rye*, lover of Adlai Stevenson. He ends it with his vision of the future: Yippieland—standard Rousseau. In between, we have such choice tidbits as: "Who knows what divine madness boiled beneath that bitter scowl?" (of Lee Harvey Oswald), and "He grinned, a twinkle in his eye. He's in his early fifties, but he's a kid at

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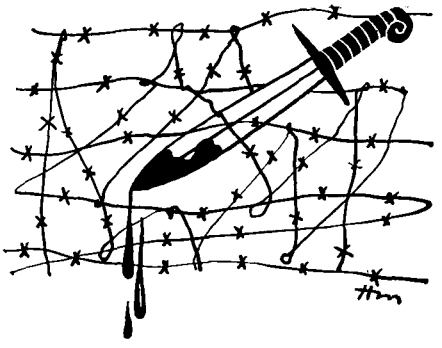
heart, a born trouble-maker" (of David Dellinger). That maudlinity can be profoundly evil is demonstrated by this jewel: ". . . I saw headlines: REDS CRACK HUE JAIL, FREE 2000. . . . Two thousand human beings who were in jail just hours ago were now free!"

And what is Rubin's program? Tut, naughty to ask—he tells us time and again that he has no program, that "the goal of revolution is to abolish programs." Okay, what is he after? That Rousseauistic paradise where money, pigs and programs are dead, where everybody smokes grass and screws and everything is free—a giant nursery full of Jerry Rubins. "We are not protesting 'issues'; we are protesting Western civilization. . . . If there had been no Vietnam war, we would have invented one."

HIS METHOD? Do something, do anything—as far-out freaky as possible; just be sure the cameras are there: "The media does not *report* 'news,' it *creates* it. An event *happens* when it goes on TV and becomes a myth." There you have the single nugget of truth to be found in this book. And, alas, the key to the Standard Liberal Copout *in re* Rubin: Don't fret, folks, it's just a big put-on—it's *theater*. Way back when, Rubin got a subpoena: "I raved, 'The government is trying to stifle antiwar dissent.' The press hung on every word. I was playing Angry Radical, but inside I was laughing, standing on my hands and turning somersaults. . . . I began thinking about



HUAC as theater." And now whatever Rubin does—curse Judge Hoffman, tell teen-agers to "burn the schools," urinate on the Pentagon—is *theater*. For that reason, we are asked to tolerate Jerry Rubin.

To be sure, there is a theatrical aspect to revolution. As Rubin points out: "The myth makes the revolution. Marx is a myth. Mao is a myth. Dylan is a myth. The Black Panthers are a myth." Elsewhere: "What the yippies learn from Karl Marx . . . is that we must create a spectacular myth of revolution." But Rubin seems not to understand that that is only half the job: to actualize the myth requires a Lenin. (Similarly, Rubin believes that at Woodstock "for three days we dominated the land and governed ourselves." He forgets the doctors, the medicine, the food and water—supplied by the straight world outside—that averted disaster.)

A Lenin, Rubin isn't. He does manage to understand that should an orthodox left group take power, his yippies would be exterminated by " 'socialist' pigs." He fails to understand that lifestyle alone cannot sustain society, even the primitive-Communist society he envisions. Or would he be willing to help paradise along, with a few well-placed bullets? I suspect he would; he is terribly sincere about this new world of his.

ANOTHER DIFFICULTY with Rubin's "theater": "Television keeps us escalating our tactics; a tactic becomes ineffective when it stops generating gossip or interest—'news.' " Now, Rubin is in no immediate danger of running out of tactics—he is imaginative, give him that much. But Amerika is by now, after five years of Rubin and his cohorts, numb to the old shock-talk and most of the old shock-deeds. What's a yippie to do? Escalate—and whatever Rubin comes up with next will be far, far beyond what is protected by constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. It will *have* to be deadly.

But enough of Rubin. By far the most unpleasant prose in *Do It!* is to be found on the cover, courtesy of Simon & Schuster: "This book will become a Molotov cocktail in your very hands. . . . *Do It!* is a declaration of war between the generations—calling on kids to leave their homes, burn down their schools and create a new society upon the ashes of the old. . . . after living through the experience of this book, take its final advice: *Do It!*" Just so. Myself, I burned it, and retired to dream an apocalypse of my very own: Jerry Rubin being boiled alive in chicken soup.

What I want to know now is, what the hell do Simon & Schuster think they're doing? Yes, it will sell well, and the spectacle of capitalists cheerfully digging their own graves is not a new one. To be sure, these are Our Kids—so were Charles Starkweather, George Lincoln Rockwell, Richard Speck. . . . Of course, it's only theater, but how many adolescents—psychopathic ones looking for an excuse to lash out at the world, alienated ones in need of a cause to ride on, bored ones looking for kicks—are going to pick up this book, read it and then Do It, at risk of terrible harm as much to themselves as to others. In Amerika, we do not forbid people to publish books; we expect them to discipline themselves. Simon & Schuster blew it. I hope they don't wind up with blood on their corporate hands. □

Toward a National Urban Policy
Edited by Daniel P. Moynihan
Basic Books, 348 pp., $7.95

THE CITY AND THE ALCHEMIST

JEFFREY HART

Suppose you were a Renaissance scientist in good standing. You were a paid-up member of the Alchemists' Guild, and had done some admired work with the Pentangle; and you had tortured a frog or two. But then there had appeared Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood. You would gaze on your own beakers and retorts with a wild surmise. Or suppose, again, that you were an Elizabethan poet. You hung about the Globe, and you were on the fringe of Jonson's circle at the Mermaid; you had written a series of sonnets to Julia, as well as two comedies, and you now had the bright idea of adapting Kyd's Spanish Tragedy *to a more modern and philosophic purpose. But then* Hamlet *appeared. After such knowledge, what forgiveness?*

The book under review, a collection of essays on urban matters edited by Daniel P. Moynihan, is a solid and meritorious piece of work. The 25 essayists, mostly but not exclusively academics, have good credentials and their essays touch most of the bases: housing, transportation, problems of local government, pollution, population trends, the changing role of the churches, problems of education. But there is more than a touch of banality about the whole thing. We are told that the Negro is an "inner migrant" who is similar in

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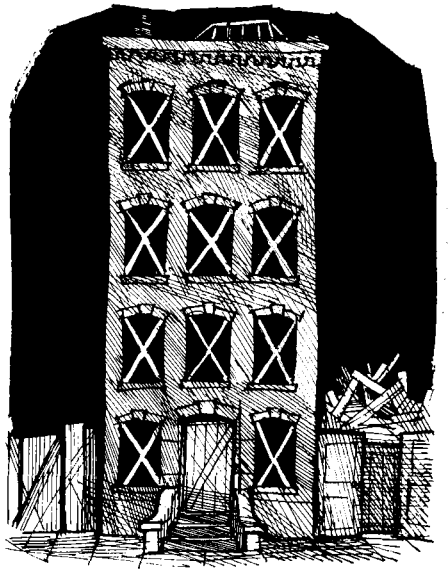
some ways to earlier immigrants like the Irish and the Germans, but also different, too, in such respects, for example, as skin color. The contributors favor approaching problems in context, and in depth, rather than in isolation—and who, except a federal bureaucrat, wouldn't?

Every now and then surprises occur. It actually seems to be the case that urban transportation is improving, despite the widespread impression of the opposite. "Data on the time required to travel between two points in American cities during rush hours today and, say, ten or fifteen years ago almost invariably suggest that the time required to make the trip has decreased slightly, usually in the vicinity of 10 to 20 per cent. Or, alternatively, the average highway vehicle speed during rush hours in the central parts of American cities has slowly but surely climbed upward over the last ten years from approximately 15 to 25 miles an hour to somewhere in the vicinity of 25 to 30 miles per hour or slightly more." This writer makes the ingenious suggestion that the more recent speeds, though faster, are perceived as unsatisfactory through comparison with the much greater speeds now experienced on the system of freeways and Interstates.



Now and then, but not often, one of these contributors actually admits a touch of wit and gaiety. "The slums of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the South Bronx," writes Nathan Glazer, "are on the travel itinerary of every sophisticated tourist." Even so, and I should not be surprised to hear that the ever-resourceful Thomas Cook, Ltd. is running a regular tour through them, the traffic to Majorca meanwhile falling off somewhat.

But the entire enterprise of this book at last suffocates in an atmosphere of overwhelming banality. Anything Daniel Moynihan writes is worth reading, but even his opening and concluding essays seem flattened in spirit and a trifle mechanical; not that he doesn't have good things to say. He deplores overheated rhetoric about the urban "crisis," he shows that violence and crime are anything but novelties in American cities —though he does not neglect the ominous appearance of violence among the well-to-do and privileged—and he sensibly deplores the fatuity of such gestures as the Episcopal Bishop's decision not to go ahead with the completion of St. John the Divine: "If men need work, could they not be given jobs in its construction?"

It is all well enough, but this book has suffered the fate of the alchemist and the playwright of my opening paragraph. It is Moynihan's misfortune to have perpetrated this book almost simultaneously with the appearance of a genuine classic and work of genius, *The Unheavenly City* by Edward C. Banfield, Moynihan's colleague at Harvard.

The impressiveness of Banfield's achievement cannot be overstated, and nothing whatever can now be written about the city without taking Banfield continuously into account. It's a whole new ball game. Banfield writes with philosophic depth and wide cultural range, and he makes full use of the theoretical advances of modern social science. He is particularly brilliant in his application of the idea of "relative deprivation" as refined in the work of Robert K. Merton. "In fact," he writes, "all measurements show the problems of our cities—poverty, poor housing, school dropouts, mistreatment of Negroes—are rapidly turning toward the better. The crisis results only because national expectations are rising so fast no conceivable progress could keep pace." And in a series of profound reflections Banfield locates the source of our difficulties with the precision of an expert surgeon: in the lust after goodness which pervades our upper-middle and upper classes, and which informs altruistic programs even when such programs demonstrably harm the people they are supposed to benefit. For, as Banfield sees, "the doing of good is not so much for the benefit of those to whom the good is done as it is for that of the *doers*, whose moral faculties are activated and invigorated by the doing of it, and for that of the community, the shared values of which are ritually asserted and vindicated by the doing of it." Nietzsche, thou shouldst be living at this hour. Edward C. Banfield has written a momentous book. □

Bring Forth the Mighty Men
By Howard Singer
Funk and Wagnalls, $6.95

LIBERALISM AND AMERICAN JEWRY

JACOB NEUSNER

Howard Singer is both a brilliant journalist and a rabbi. Here he combines his skill with his learning, to write the best book I've ever read on contemporary Jewish life. If you've wondered why "all the Jews" are liberals, here you will find out why you've wondered.

Singer begins with a theme, violence and the Jewish character, but fortunately, unlike an academician, he forgets the theme and lets the story take over. He presents, in particular in the final chapter, what I can only call the whole truth about contemporary Jewish organizational life in the U.S.A. No one has said such things in print before, though everyone talks about them privately. Are you then expecting scandal? There is no scandal in organized Jewish life, and nothing you would call corruption. Rather, what Singer tells is a truth that is stranger than fiction: The irony of Jewish organizations working for pretty much any cause (on the liberal front) except something to do with the beliefs and practices of Judaism or the nurture of Jewish educational and cultural enterprises.

Actually, the organizations are sufficiently divorced from the everyday members that they can do just what they like. And what they like is, Singer says, "to speak as the voice of American liberalism, or at least as the leading soloists in the liberal chorus." Is this mere perverseness? Singer doubts it. He points out: "Ambitious men who get to the top of such organizations are often less interested in Jews than in

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doing a pirouette on the larger national stage. They are essentially liberal theoreticians who use Jewish organizations as their power base, their captive constituency. That's why they utter *pronunciamentos* on general political issues. That's why the American Jewish Congress behaves as if it were under the delusion that it is really the American Civil Liberties Union. It isn't. Neither is it the conscience of the American people nor even of American Jewry. It is a small secular organization established to protect the interests of the Jewish people. But long ago it 'graduated' and went looking for new worlds to conquer."

THE REAL PROBLEM is that Jewry is led by leaders from the periphery, men who cannot make it in the "outside world" because they are Jews, but who can achieve prestige and power within Jewry. Like any other minority, Jews suffer a high fever from self-hatred. The things that make Jews Jewish have little prestige for that reason. Singer notes: "One problem is that the Jews who control the Jewish organizations cannot get any headlines out of helping their own people. There is no prestige in it. . . . Jewish organizations see Jews as the group from which funds must be raised, and non-Jews as the group that must be influenced."

Singer states the self-hatred syndrome in colorful terms: "The dirty little secret about middle-aged American Jews, especially those on the highest economic levels, is that many of them dream of being reincarnated as Episcopalians. . . ." Singer creates "Cousin Merwyn," the Jewish Uncle Tom. Merwyn comes from Morris, whose grandfather was Moshe. He is a Jew and doesn't propose to do anything about it, except hate it for his whole life. Singer's Merwyn "will have nothing to do with anything Jewish. . . . Merwyn . . . is usually most comfortable with a thoroughly secular, humanist liberalism. As a political theory, liberalism is aloof and pragmatic, but Merwyn . . . will . . . invest it with . . . fervor. . . . He has to put all his emotional energy into his liberalism; he has nowhere else to expend it. It will have to serve as his kinship and culture group, his ethnic and religious orientation, his hope of heaven and his social milieu. That's quite a lot to ask, even of Americans for Democratic Action."

Merwyn further wants to dejudaize all the other Jews, "to make Jewish life less recognizably Jewish. . . . With a sparkling conscience, and always in the name of 'progress' or good fellowship, he will vulgarize and corrode the institutions of Jewish life." And, alas, Merwyn is often wealthy, energetic and willing to work: "These qualities soon bring him into positions of influence and authority. And if American Jewish organizations have lost touch with Jewish needs, it is because Merwyn . . . dominates those organizations."

That is, the Merwyns of the Forties and Fifties. But who do you think carries the spears in the New Left parade, if not the daughters and sons of Merwyn? The New Left, Singer says, "sees the world in a parody of Christian cosmology, with God (the Forces of progress . . .) in global and deadly conflict with Satan (United States Imperialism, the white man)." Therefore whatever the U.S. supports must be not merely bad, but immoral. Those who oppose Satan—say, the Arabs—must be on the side of God [Ho? Mao?]. Nasser's dictatorship and Saudi Arabia's feudalism "are essentially progressive."

For that matter, the American Jewish Congress has a blind spot where leftists are concerned. The director of its Commission of Law and Social Action could write: "The extremists of the New Left *are* part of *us* . . . an asset in the attainment of our common goals." (Italics his.) The crudest, cruelest antisemitism *ever* heard in the U.S. has come in the past couple of years from the New Left on the campuses and in the Negro communities, but that hardly matters. Left is "an asset." The adoption of ethnic quotas is a good thing because the Left wants it. Pogroms directed against little people—storekeepers and small businessmen—are OK because the Left says so—and carries them out.

What will the Jewish organizations support, if not the Jews that pay for and need them? The same Congress is trying to separate church and state. Currently, it is taking up cudgels against the military chaplaincy (of all things). Hear Singer: "Now, the average American Jew can think of a thousand Jewish problems that are more pressing. No Jewish interests are involved."

There's much more to learn from Singer, but I think it is clear that the book is not likely to be reviewed in the Jewish community press, particularly the magazines of the large organizations, and that Singer cannot expect to make many friends among the Jewish establishment. But he has not only told the truth, he has also spoken for, and in behalf of, large numbers of ordinary Jewish people, neither rich nor powerful nor hung-up, about their Jewishness, who until now have been ignored. □

FILM CHRONICLE

FROM SATYRIC TO SUBLIME

RICHARD CORLISS

Fellini Satyricon is the title United Artists has used to distinguish Federico the Freaked-out's latest film from a cheapie movie called *Satyricon* made at the same time. It also might help dispel the suspicion that Fellini's freak tragedy in Roman drag has any more than the most tenuous connection with remnants of a comic potpourri by the first-century libertine Petronius. Introducing his lucid translation of Petronius' remarkable shards, William Arrowsmith claims that the *Satyricon* was written to be read aloud by a highly trained actor-rhetorician, whose rhythm and inflections would breathe life into what might seem monotonous if read as literature. The hope for this picture, that Fellini would act both as translator to the modern world and "reader" or interpreter of its tempo and mores, is crushed by the end of the first reel. Fellini, self-proclaimed "man of the circus," is actually the side-show barker who (literally) parades an endless line of freaks, fumps, fools and phonies before our presumably gaping child's eyes.

WHETHER FELLINI originally envisioned his *Satyricon* as a free-form fantasy—science fiction set in the past—or as a cautionary fable of our time, the result is a failure. For one thing, it lacks the anchor of reality (a relatively normal protagonist who dreams, or hallucinates, aspects of the peripheral characters) that gave some fragile dramatic cohesion to his previous two features, *8½* and *Juliet of the Spirits*, so the use of his freaks as metaphors for modern

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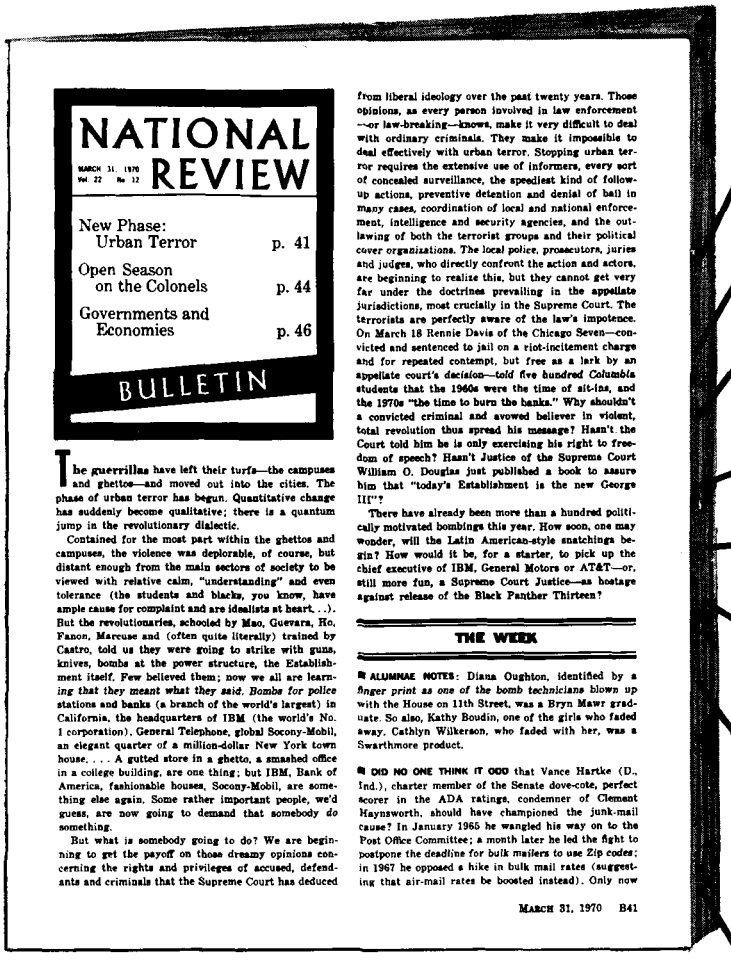

NATIONAL REVIEW

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Governments and Economies p. 46

BULLETIN

The guerrillas have left their turfs—the campuses and ghettos—and moved out into the cities. The phase of urban terror has begun. Quantitative change has suddenly become qualitative; there is a quantum jump in the revolutionary dialectic.

Contained for the most part within the ghettos and campuses, the violence was deplorable, of course, but distant enough from the main sectors of society to be viewed with relative calm, "understanding" and even tolerance (the students and blacks, you know, have ample cause for complaint and are idealists at heart...). But the revolutionaries, schooled by Mao, Guevara, Ho, Fanon, Marcuse and (often quite literally) trained by Castro, told us they were going to strike with guns, knives, bombs at the power structure, the Establishment itself. Few believed them; now we all are learning *that they meant what they said. Bombs for police* stations and banks (a branch of the world's largest) in California, the headquarters of IBM (the world's No. 1 corporation), General Telephone, global Socony-Mobil, an elegant quarter of a million-dollar New York town house, . . . A gutted store in a ghetto, a smashed office in a college building, are one thing; but IBM, Bank of America, fashionable houses, Socony-Mobil, are something else again. Some rather important people, we'd guess, are now going to demand that somebody *do* something.

But what is somebody going to do? We are beginning to get the payoff on those dreamy opinions concerning the rights and privileges of accused, defendants and criminals that the Supreme Court has deduced from liberal ideology over the past twenty years. Those opinions, as every person involved in law enforcement —or law-breaking—knows, make it very difficult to deal with ordinary criminals. They make it impossible to deal effectively with urban terror. Stopping urban terror requires the extensive use of informers, every sort of concealed surveillance, the speediest kind of follow-up actions, preventive detention and denial of bail in many cases, coordination of local and national enforcement, intelligence and security agencies, and the outlawing of both the terrorist groups and their political cover organizations. The local police, prosecutors, juries and judges, who directly confront the action and actors, are beginning to realize this, but they cannot get very far under the doctrines prevailing in the appellate jurisdictions, most crucially in the Supreme Court. The terrorists are perfectly aware of the law's impotence. On March 18 Rennie Davis of the Chicago Seven—convicted and sentenced to jail on a riot-incitement charge and for repeated contempt, but free as a lark by an appellate court's *decision—told five hundred Columbia* students that the 1960s were the time of sit-ins, and the 1970s "the time to burn the banks." Why shouldn't a convicted criminal and avowed believer in violent, total revolution thus spread his message? Hasn't the Court told him he is only exercising his right to freedom of speech? Hasn't Justice of the Supreme Court William O. Douglas just published a book to assure him that "today's Establishment is the new George III"?

There have already been more than a hundred politically motivated bombings this year. How soon, one may wonder, will the Latin American-style snatchings begin? How would it be, for a starter, to pick up the chief executive of IBM, General Motors or AT&T—or, still more fun, a Supreme Court Justice—as hostage against release of the Black Panther Thirteen?

THE WEEK

■ **ALUMNAE NOTES:** Diana Oughton, identified by a *finger print as one of the bomb technicians blown up* with the House on 11th Street, was a Bryn Mawr graduate. So also, Kathy Boudin, one of the girls who faded away. Cathlyn Wilkerson, who faded with her, was a Swarthmore product.

■ **DID NO ONE THINK IT ODD** that Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), charter member of the Senate dove-cote, perfect scorer in the ADA ratings, condemner of Clement Haynsworth, should have championed the junk-mail cause? In January 1965 he wangled his way on to the Post Office Committee; a month later he led the fight to postpone the deadline for *bulk mailers to use Zip codes;* in 1967 he opposed a hike in bulk mail rates (suggesting that air-mail rates be boosted instead). Only now

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life, however bizarre and sad the latter may be, is misleading and unconvincing. But the freaks are already familiar to us from their more attractive ancestors in Fellini's earlier films, and since he repeats his themes without developing them, *Satyricon* is painfully, obviously the work of an artist in decline, at least in the form he has chosen.

In fact, Fellini's art is decadent in every sense but the one he wishes: he is simply not at ease as a voluptuary. The flirting he has done with a film form that one critic has called "Neo-surrealism," an oil-and-water blend of DeSica and Dali, is no more than that —a flirtatious exploitation both of people, whom he has turned into caricatures similar to but more sinister than the ones he drew for a living in wartime Rome, and of a film genre that peaked beautifully with *8½*, declined with *Juliet*, and has landed in the aberrant underground with *Satyricon*.

Fellini's journey through life is stamped on his films as clearly as if they were his passport and his analyst's notebook. Though he has often transcended his background—a caricaturist, a man of the circus, but primarily an ex-Catholic—he has never escaped them. All his films are suffused with an obsession with the Church common to ex-Catholics who have renounced the faith intellectually but not emotionally. *8½* might be called the definitive comic work of art by a lapsed Catholic Italian, just as *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* might apply to Ireland; but *Juliet* and *Satyricon* are hardly the post-Christian equivalents in film of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce was an artist first, an ex-Catholic second (or last), while Fellini's obsession is getting the better of his art. He wanted *Satyricon* to have "no trace of Christ."

He may as well have said, "no trace of Fellini." And sure enough, the movie ends with a "cure" climax similar to the Penguin-Freud endings of *8½* and *Juliet*: the aimless hero, searching for meaning in a mean world, finds it by mounting an earth-mother in an act redolent of both crucifixion and redemption! By this time, however, the movie itself is long past redemption. The viewer's verdict must be Thumbs Down, and Eyes Closed.

THE HONEYMOON KILLERS is a repellent but fascinating work from a quartet of movie novices: composer Leonard Kastle, who wrote and directed it; William F. Buckley's "Firing Line" producer Warren Steibel, who produced; and performers Shirley Stoler and Tony LoBianco, who star. Kastle's camera is ruthlessly, almost sadistically objective in exposing the venality of Martha Beck and Raymond Fernandez, the infamous "Lonely Hearts Killers" of the late Forties. Even more unusual is the unflinching depiction of the pair's victims: romantic, selfish middle-aged women lured into marriage by Ray's good looks and solicitous line, and into embezzlement and sometimes death by Martha, a 200-lb. amalgam of Lady Chatterley's sexual avarice and Lady Macbeth's career aggressiveness.

The film is unswervingly faithful to the nastiness of all the characters, a remarkable achievement in a genre that tends to treat psychopaths as anti-Establishment romantic heroes *(Bonnie and Clyde)*, ornate and thus remote grotesques *(What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?)*, good kids gone bad *(Gun Crazy)*, or on-screen reflections of a rarefied directorial personality *(Psycho)*. Each of these attitudes gives us a convenient breathing space, removing us from the characters, their milieu and their danger. In *The Honeymoon Killers*, we are trapped in the cheap rented rooms where Martha, the apotheosis of all those fat old women on the subway who can never keep their legs closed, and Ray, a pimpy Ramon Novarro, act out their wretched psychodramas. Against our will, we become involved in their plans and their victims' dreams, and implicated in their crimes. It is only the final shot, a traditional, elegiac tracking movement, that awakens us from the unique mood of this nightmare picture.

EVER SINCE Luis Buñuel threatened, some years ago, to make a satirical film about heresies in the Roman Catholic Church, atheists have been licking their lips and the faithful have been wringing their hands. Buñuel, after all, was the creator of those notorious anti-Catholic tracts, *L'Age d'Or* (1930) and *Viridiana* (1961). But this is 1970, and times, films and the Church have changed. The casual nudity and consistent verbal vulgarity in modern movies make Buñuel's misanthropy and blasphemy seem almost classical. The "Church Militant" has never been more so: today's priest preaches the Gospel according to Christ, the first Black Panther; the nun liberates her convent: and the laity swallow all this rhetoric along with their birth-control pills—while remaining in the Church. Amid the turmoil, Buñuel's wizened sneer acquires a benevolent tinge. While the revolt within the Church mirrors a worldwide political explosion, Buñuel is taking his place with mellow and mature "religious" film-makers like Robert Bresson and Carl-Theodor Dreyer. With enemies like Buñuel, the Church may think, who needs friends?

So, it's no wonder that *The Milky Way*, Buñuel's two-hour Church history, is so gentle a film—a parable, almost, told by a modern-day Christ about an ecclesiastical structure he considers Pharisaic—that the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures has placed it in an "unobjectionable" category. For this is a gentle, generous Buñuel, who caps every blasphemy with a miracle, and sanctifies each churlish observation with a stylistic epiphany. The grace and good nature with which the director fills his tableaux don't make *The Milky Way* a great film.

Its rambling, episodic nature keeps the film from building and sustaining any complex emotional involvement, the way Buñuel's masterpiece, *Belle de Jour*, did; and it certainly lacks *Belle de Jour*'s universal significance and appeal. But *The Milky Way* should delight all Catholics, regular and renegade, who have found the Church's labyrinthine history as awesome as it was impenetrable, while the rest of us can relax, as if at a good Howard Hawks Western,

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and share the joy an extraordinary film-maker feels and conveys when working with material he really loves.

MICHELANGELO ANTONIONI'S early films were often as murky and dull as city water. But they were critical successes; maybe the fascination came in analyzing the elements. With *Blowup*, the Italian director's first English-language feature, his actor-mannequins became characters, and his film vision moved subtly but securely from the Shadowland of obscurity into the artistic Twilight Zone of ambiguity. With his latest film, *Zabriskie Point*, Antonioni has again moved forward, this time into the blinding desert of thematic clarity. He has dropped the old dodge of using his actors' blank stares and his décor's blank walls as clumsy metaphors of the Industrial Age's blank and blackened soul, and has inspired his new work, made in the United States, with some of America's own vulgar vitality. Not surprisingly, *Zabriskie Point* has won a chorus of critical pans.

Well, the hell with them. The eye of a film artist, if not the common plot sense of the daily reviewer, is evident in every scene of *Zab Pt*, whether it takes place in congested, constricted Los Angeles or in the primordial dust of Death Valley. His visual vignettes (of which the film may be called an album) are felt as well as thought out: witness a long, sympathetic shot of an old cowboy passing his years in a roadhouse while listening to "The Tennessee Waltz." His choice of music—most of it rock-and-roll of a nature as precise and relaxed as the film—is about the best I've heard in a "youth" film. As for the movie's "big scenes," they are spectacular, witty and monstrous: one shows love, the other death, and both are on the grand, galactic scale.

All of this is tied together with a pace that makes *Zab Pt* the most entertaining of Antonioni's movies, and with a perception that makes it the most intelligent, compassionate probing of the radical young in recent American film. While sharing their desperate point of view, Antonioni also understands the romance of this desperation, and its ultimate impotence. The country's revolutionary teens may not flock to this sober message as they did to the hippie hero-worship of earlier films in the genre, but *Zabriskie Point* can be considered a success even if it doesn't act as mass therapy for insecure political egos. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

MARCUSE, *by Alasdair MacIntyre (Viking, 95¢)*. The British philosopher and sociologist, author of *Marxism and Christianity*, *The Unconscious*, *Secularization and Moral Change* and *A Short History of Ethics*, now adds a devastating radical putdown of Herbert Marcuse, the Left Hegelian godfather of the Weathermen. To find Marcuse's glaring errors is easy; "almost all of Marcuse's key positions are false." But to show just how he muddles and misinterprets his own gurus takes the insights of a professional like MacIntyre. Since the "knowledge of future human possibility depends upon the knowledge of which laws will govern future human affairs . . . Marcuse's central thesis collapses into incoherence." Or the political conservative Freud, to whom Marcuse paradoxically turns for a social psychology: Of the "comic pomposity" in Marcuse's *ersatz* Freudian view of sex, MacIntyre testily asks: "What will we actually *do* in this sexually liberated state?" When Marcuse adopts a notion he warps it. His logic is fallacious, his assertions are "incantatory and anti-rational." "To the taste for pretentious nostrums described in inflated language which induces excitement rather than thought, Marcuse's prose has made a major contribution." Most dangerous of Marcuse's doctrines is his "repressive tolerance," which MacIntyre sees as a bar to any rational progress. By scorning tolerance, Marcuse invites us to recapitulate Stalinism. "Marcuse has produced a theory that, like so many of its predecessors, invokes the great names of freedom and reason while betraying their substance."

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

TRAITORS' END, *by Nathaniel Weyl (Arlington, 261 pp., $6.95)*. Subtitled "The Rise and Fall of the Communist Movement in Southern Africa," this account is as intriguing as a novel. In swift-moving prose, Mr. Weyl unfolds the tense drama of the Communist challenge in South Africa, with the moves and countermoves, the Communist use and abuse of the black masses. Every chapter contains surprises for uninformed or misinformed American readers, i.e., for most of us: the racial background (Dutch, English, Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantu); the engrained tendencies of emerging capitalism to move to color-blindness and dissolution of privilege; the white-supremacist attitudes of the socialist trade unions and of the South African Communist Party in its early stages; the Rand Rebellion in 1922; the strong position of the Communists immediately after World War II and the infiltration of the African National Congress; the critical importance of the Rivonia trial, the impact of black nationalism, and the probable Communist betrayal of its own black leaders; the astounding story of Braam Fischer; the collapse of domestic Communism and the internationalist phase of Communist utilization of black nationalism, white intellectuals and UN pressure tactics. (The terrorist fronts in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique are covered in separate chapters.) Mr. Weyl is blunt; he is fair; he is realistic. Only his guarded optimism about a more sensible American policy under a Republican Administration was unwary. The liberals, who still seem to dominate policy on Africa, will evidently not be satisfied until every last African, black or white, is leveled flat.

E. B. MEYER

CHURCHILL IN POWER: *As Seen By His Contemporaries, by Brian Gardner (Houghton-Mifflin, 349 pp., $7.95)*. Although his publishers tout Mr. Gardner's book as a debunking of the "Churchill legend," it is actually a useful, engrossing collection of contemporary comment—diary entries, newspaper columns, Parliamentary debate, and correspondence, written during Churchill's wartime leadership. It is also the remarkable story of a Former Naval Person who seemed, in 1931, to have as much political future as Harold Stassen in 1970. The odds he overcame, and the special blend of genius and theatricality that made him the Lion's roar, are paid their just due. If any proof were needed, a 1942 memo to the German high command is quoted: "The elimination of Churchill must be an essential feature of any attack on British morale." Occasionally, Mr. Gardner strains a bit for effect, but he has collected a thorough, representative sampling of eye witness evidence, and his running narrative is, on the whole, accurate and highly readable. Certainly, no debunker of the old school would have ended his introduction on this note: "The British saw in Churchill something flattering to themselves. When Wellington died, the vast crowds stood in awe—or instinctively hissed. At the funeral of Winston Churchill, they stood to attention and bared their heads in the cold morning air."

A. BAKSHIAN JR.

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FRIEDMAN

(Continued from page 510)

and then try to guide the person he is assisting to use the help most effectively. But translate this into a large-scale governmental program, and it ends up as the kind of administrative nightmare we now have. The welfare workers are not distributing their own money, so there must be controls over them. The criteria of need must be standardized. The forms of help must be specified. The dispersers of funds must be supervised. In the process, the human element is squeezed out and replaced by frustration and mutual distrust.

This system clearly is a "grave threat to the integrity of the individual" receiving welfare. Before a welfare recipient may move from one apartment to another, he must get the approval of a civil servant; equally, before he may buy second-hand furniture, have the gas turned on, or make any one of a thousand other deviations from an approved budget. Needless to say, the welfare recipients have become skilled in finding ways around the regulations, but nonetheless, the whole atmosphere is one in which they are treated like irresponsible wards of the state, like children, not like responsible citizens. Clearly, if the taxpayer does subsidize them, he has in some sense the moral right to impose such requirements. But is it wise to do so?

Most important of all, carrying over the notion of meeting the other person's "needs" has had the unfortunate effect of largely eliminating any incentive for the welfare recipient to help himself. If a welfare recipient earns an extra $100, that is interpreted as meaning that he or she can meet an additional $100 of "needs," and therefore that welfare aid can be reduced by $100. In consequence, the recipient has no incentive to earn money unless he can earn enough completely to replace welfare. This is the main reason why there tends to develop a permanent class of welfare recipients.

As in each of the two prior examples, the way to improve the situation is to put greater reliance on impersonal market arrangements and less on bureaucratic administration. For welfare, the device that recommends itself is the negative income tax, under which all persons with incomes below the level now taxable would be entitled to receive a fraction of their unused exemptions and deductions. This method would give assistance to the poor in the form of money, which they could spend as they wish, on the basis of the impersonal criteria of the size of their income and the number of persons in their family, and in such a way as to give them an incentive to raise their income from other sources.

This is not the place for a detailed exposition of the way a negative income tax would work or of its advantages and disadvantages. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that it has been studied carefully and that there is every reason to believe that it would be a feasible substitute for the present direct relief and aid to dependent children programs; that it would, over a period, simultaneously give more assistance to the truly needy and cost the taxpayers less.

The crucial point for our present purpose is that a negative income tax would permit the elimination of the bulk of our present welfare bureaucracy, would end the division of our population into two classes, would give those receiving assistance greater freedom and independence to shape their own life and greater opportunity to take advantage of their own abilities and capacities. In addition, whereas our present programs have essentially destroyed private philanthropy, the negative income tax, by assuming the basic load of income maintenance, would reduce the hardship cases, which no general program can eliminate, to a level that private charity could handle. We have been stifling private philanthropic agencies, converting them to agents or contractors of the state, by our conception of government welfare. The negative income tax would give them a new function to perform. The diversity, flexibility, and efficiency of free enterprise has a role to play in philanthropy no less than in other areas.

Conclusion

In recent decades, there has been a steady tendency to enlarge the role of the government, either to undertake new tasks or to take over tasks formerly entrusted to private and voluntary action. By now the process has gone very far indeed, even in a country like the United States which prides itself on being the country of free enterprise. Today, probably over one-third of all the income of the people in this country is channeled through the government—being extracted by taxes and loans, and spent for governmental programs. And

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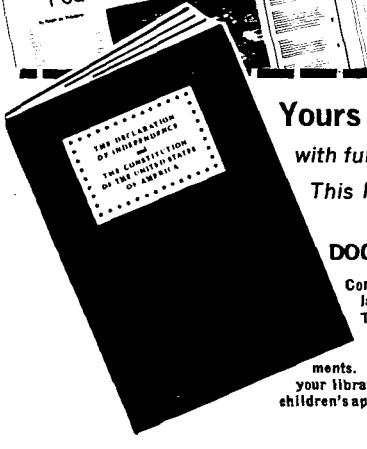

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FRIEDMAN

(Continued from page 526)

freedom and individuality is a necessary consequence of neither the objectives sought nor the increasing complexity of our society. Television and radio, higher schooling, and welfare arrangements are very different areas in which we have very different objectives. Yet there is a common strand running through all three. In all, we have tried to substitute central direction and bureaucratic control for voluntary arrangements. In all, we could achieve our objectives far better by using arrangements that give a greater scope to the market, that rely on "participatory democracy" rather than on bureaucratic democracy.

If we are to meet the recurrent threats to freedom that are bound to arise, it is important that the informed public become more sophisticated than it is now about government programs. It must come to understand that the business community has no monopoly on misleading advertising, that promises must be distinguished from performance. We must try to repress the tendency to say, "Let's pass a law," whenever a problem arises and recognize that the indirect route through voluntary action may be surer and safer than the direct route through government action. And when we do turn to government action, we shall do best if, so far as possible, we try to restrict government action either to setting up arrangements under which private action can be effective (as in radio or television), or to giving money in an open and aboveboard way to specific individuals under specified conditions rather than to providing the relevant good or service by a government organization. □

RODMAN

(Continued from page 511)

ness of American response to the expropriations in Bolivia and Peru on the other, has made anti-Americanism the touchstone of popular unrest.

I found grudging satisfaction with President Nixon's neutralist policy in all camps during my recent South American trip. But among peoples who set so much store by *machismo*, how long can that last? The United States is too rich, too strong and too near to be loved. But in the long run we will be respected only if we extend all-out economic assistance or strictly apply the Hickenlooper Amendment. □

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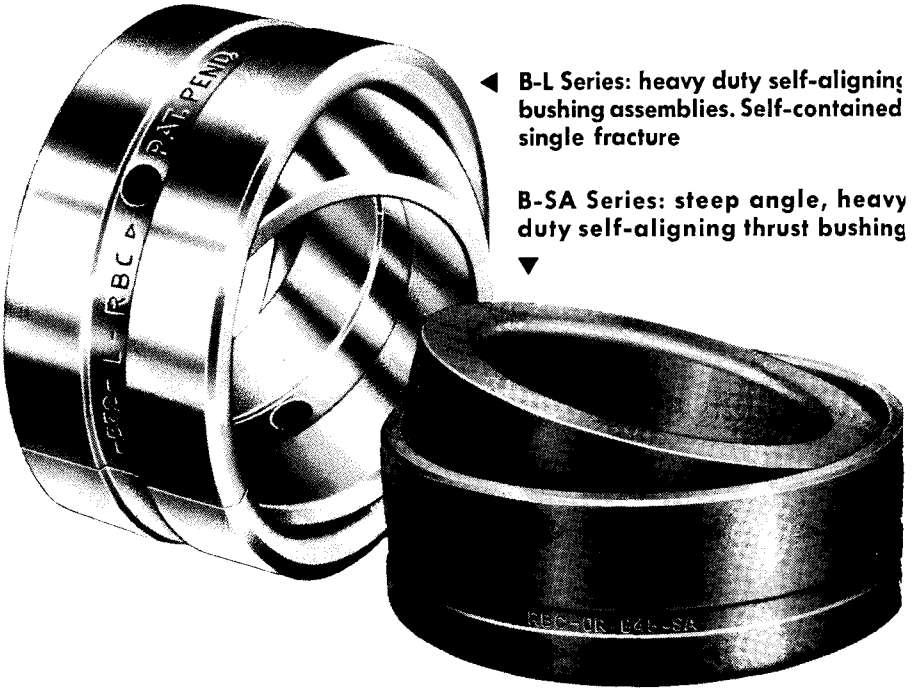

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 493)

such works as *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* or Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land*. *NR* readers who are especially interested in education would probably find Herbert Kohl's *Thirty-Six Children* or Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age* rewarding.

Ithaca, N.Y. WENDY J. GORDON

Done!

NATIONAL REVIEW, you've failed us. Do you actually mean to let Jerry Rubin and Simon & Schuster off with a mere quote from a Young Socialist's review of *Do It!* ["For The Record," May 5]? Really, your loyal fans expected more. Help!

Brooklyn, N.Y. BRIAN X. SCHMIDTSON

See pp. 518 and 533; enjoy, enjoy! —ED.

But Why?

Frank Meyer promised us that beyond the leftist and rightist alternatives, he would outline in Part II of his answer to Professor Zoll [April 7] the correct third choice: How to preserve "our constitutional republic by restoring the rule of law and the authority of our institutions." Part II, eagerly expected, disappointed me: All Meyer does is to state that such restoration is possible *if* the Constitution and the laws are enforced. But the whole debate hinges on the question *why* are they not enforced? *Why* do conservative-minded Presidents, governors, mayors, judges, congressmen jump on the leftist bandwagon; *why* does the silent majority remain silent; *why* does the Left itself become every day more radical? Mr. Meyer's incantations will not help the restoration; the first step in that direction would be to break the taboo and explain why the things that happen, happen.

Unfortunately, however, conservatives have not proposed any theory explaining 1) the erosion of democratic belief among left-liberals; 2) the consequent disaffection of the nation from lawful processes; 3) the pressure of the media (including the universities) on the nation's leaders; 4) the inability of conservatives either to organize themselves or to create enthusiasm among their potential followers. When someone does examine these taboos, he is branded a reactionary—by conservatives. One can see why: As Meyer's example shows, it is easier to engage in the magic repetition of pleasing words than to analyze, without illusions, a situation.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

Unforgettable

In the many obituaries of the late William T. Evjue, longtime editor of the *Capital-Times* of Madison, Wis., I was distressed to find no mention of one of his greatest services to America. Surely, patriots have

(Continues on page 531)

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 529)

not forgotten the inspiring Evjue-[Joseph R.] McCarthy lecture series!

Black Earth, Wis. HOWARD HILLS

Corrections

Three items in the current issue of *NR*, May 5, disturb me.

Item one: An editorial on Amnesty International's charges of Israeli torture of Arabs, deploring the fact that Israel does not want an "international investigation." You close these comments with the cryptic remark: "The Greeks had a word for it." I don't know what the word is. But the head of the U.S. section of AI said he "regretted that the London statement had not made clear [nor does your editorial] that while Amnesty had been permitted to send an investigation team into Israel, with full cooperation of Israeli authorities, this had not been done in any of the Arab countries." I suppose the Greeks had a word for that, too.

Item two: David Brudnoy's remark (page 469) that Ezra Pound was "incarcerated" because he was an "antisemite." If Mr. Brudnoy really believes this then he should be ready to join Mr. Kunstler in proclaiming that Bobby Seale is being "incarcerated" for his color not his crimes (alleged).

Item three: a reference to the "erstwhile Jesuit Daniel Berrigan" (page 471). The good father is not "erstwhile" at all. Berrigan has told the press that he remains a good Jesuit, and that he is in constant touch with the commander of his Order and apprises him of all he is up to —at all times.

New York, N.Y. MAX GELTMAN

Thank you for your kind comment ["Random Notes," April 21], in relation to a forthcoming book on the Harvard strike, that "by far the most interesting chapter of the book is Steven Kelman's account of his disenchantment with the extreme Left." Let me make one small correction, however: My thoughts on this subject do not appear in a chapter of *The Harvard Strike*, but rather in my own separate book, *Push Comes to Shove: The Escalation of Student Protest.*

Cambridge, Mass. STEVEN KELMAN

Mr. Kelman's book will be reviewed in an early issue of NR. —ED.

It has been called to my attention that a recent article in NATIONAL REVIEW claimed that members of the Young People's Socialist League picketed Allard Lowenstein's home to protest his position on the war in Vietnam ["The Week," Feb. 24]. This is not true.

New York, N.Y. MAX GREEN

Must've missed the bus. —ED.

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B				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
D	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
E				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
EEE				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

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Kissinger, Kennedy and Order

On The Right

New York, May 1—A few weeks ago, Henry Kissinger appeared at Johns Hopkins University to participate in a history seminar as he had been begged to do. The first question directed to him was: "Mr. Kissinger, are you a war criminal?" To which he gave the answer, "Gentlemen, I was under the mistaken impression that this was an academic exercise," picked up his briefcase, went out the door, and back to the White House where, having taught history at Harvard, he now makes history.

Now here is a very interesting postscript to that story. It broke into the local press what had happened, and immediately friends and acquaintances took to congratulating him, most of them stressing the courage he had shown. The courage he had shown. That is the interesting thing. "Because," Mr. Kissinger recently remarked, "it took no courage whatsoever. It was the natural thing to do. Why do people think it courageous to do the natural thing?"

Contrast the Johns Hopkins experience with the appearance by Senator Edward Kennedy at Yale. He had agreed months ago to speak about the environment before the Political Union —appropriately, on Earth Day.

But the campus at Yale was meanwhile seething with indignation because the government of the United States is presuming to bring fourteen Black Panthers to trial for allegedly having committed murder, and the idea is that this is sheer persecution of the Black Panthers, a position one gathers is shared by everyone in the area except the murdered man. Anyway, shortly before Senator Kennedy's arrival, a representative of the Panther cause announced that in behalf of the Panthers, he desired to address the Assembly. The president of the Political Union, Mr. Ralph Gerson, reasoned that the alternative was a disruption of the meeting by the militants, so he acquiesced.

Senator Kennedy arrived, but before he was allowed to speak, not one but three student speakers, all of them unscheduled, addressed the crowd. The first two stressed the primacy of the Black Panther business, the third said something about how Puerto Ricans resent the draft, or the draft resents Puerto Ricans, or something. Senator Kennedy finally rose, said something to the effect that the audience was wise to have listened patiently to the other speakers, deplored the alternative of violence (at the mention of which the Senator momentarily broke down, which any Kennedy is entitled to do in the gruesome context of what violence has done to the Kennedys), and did his bit for ecology. After the main meeting, he was scheduled to go to spend a few minutes with the fellows of Calhoun College. But his staff, not liking the feel of the campus situation, simply led him away. I hasten to record that he did not himself funk the appearance at Calhoun—he wasn't even aware of it (he told me over the telephone).

Now: by what reasoning is an audience assembled to hear Jones, required to listen also to Smith and to Robinson? A meeting to listen to a particular speaker on a particular subject doesn't signify to the cosmos that he is thereby insisting on the social primacy of what he is talking about. He may elect to discuss the plight of the beavers in Canada. He is not thereby superordinating the problems of beavers over against, say, the problems of ghetto-dwellers. Does everybody have the right to pre-empt an audience gathered to hear someone else, merely because he believes that the audience should also listen to him?

How refreshing it would have been if Senator Kennedy had followed the lead of Mr. Kissinger. Irving Kristol, now a professor at New York University, tells his classes, when disruptive tactics are adopted, that he will wait around exactly five minutes, and reminds the students that it is up to them whether they want to hear him—he doesn't care: He gets paid either way. Inevitably, the majority subdue the unruly, and the show goes on. But with order in the cockpit. How much we need the restoration of order. And how much we need a return to the days when simple insistence on order was held to be routine, rather than heroic. □

GREATNESS AT BAY

New York, May 4—Much of the criticism that has come in of Mr. Nixon's Cambodian declaration is of the assertion that America must not become a second-rate power. Mr. Paul Harvey, for instance, the Midwest broadcaster whose following is very great among people who have tended to back Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policies, broke absolutely with the President on this one. "Mr. President," he intoned, "I love you." Pause. "—But you are wrong." Mr. Harvey then informed the President that it isn't worth it to be a first-rate power if the cost is to be as high as is suggested by his decision to fight in Cambodia; and besides, he said, the mothers of the United States cannot bear enough male offspring to sustain United States' efforts on such a scale as is being suggested.

Others, in their own way, are saying one or another variation of the same thing. The implicit challenge is to the assertion that America needs to be a first-rate power.

That is a central question, strangely unexamined. We look about us and recognize that there are a great many second-rate powers which are somehow muddling through this century. They have their preoccupations—one thinks, for instance, of the English; but they have also their domestic felicities. And they are not called upon, anymore, to fight extensively in far-off lands, or to bear the brunt of everybody's animadversion who feels that if he were President of the United States, the world would be so very much more congenial. The joys of being a second-rate power are very considerable. We tasted them fully during the nineteenth century. It would be totally desirable if every power in the world were a second-rate power. But unfortunately, nature decrees that there shall always be at least one first-rate power. And just because the United States steps down, should it ever elect to do so, it does not follow

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that so would the Soviet Union. Or Red China.

It isn't mere bombast that Mr. Nixon is talking. What he said in his well-structured speech wasn't that it is fun to go and die for the good-old glory of a good-old first-rate power. He wasn't King Henry at Agincourt, bringing the fighting blood of his countrymen to an elated boil. He does expect, and is entitled to expect, that thoughtful Americans understand what it is that happens when a power climbs down from greatness in a world where other nations, of hostile disposition, will inherit the position of primacy.

IF WE LOSE NOW, it is the Soviet Union that we will lose to. And the Soviet Union desires to preside over a world which is quite horrible to contemplate; desires, by whatever means, to extend the Soviet system, recently described, by a correspondent of the *New York Times*, as the "greatest assault ever mounted on the human spirit." What is happening in Indochina is a contest of wills. Ours has been bent on establishing that a modest nonaggressive alliance continues to be tenable in a remote part of the world, suggesting that our other alliances, in closer parts of the world, will also prove tenable. The enemy is bent not only on simple aggression, but on proving that the United States cannot dispatch a responsibility she willingly and intelligently entered into. If the Communists establish that the United States cannot do that, then, and as of that very moment, the United States abdicates as a first-rate power. Humiliation, of course: but we can endure humiliation. The French did, after all. But the French were spared worse humiliation—by the presence of a friendly first-rate power in the world—the United States. Let those who wish to abandon Mr. Nixon at this moment force themselves to say: What will make us convincing tomorrow when, facing the Mideast, we tell the Soviet Union that we desire a balance of power there, the survival of Israel? What prestige will we bring to the Organization of American States when we discuss the virtues of stability in Latin America? The advisability of continuing America's responsibility for the Panama Canal? What, a very few years after our collapse in Asia, will our partners in Europe think when the Soviet Union elaborates its Brezhnev doctrine to authorize, say, the occupation of West Germany?

These are questions to which manifestly Richard Nixon has given very great thought, and if he prevails, history will owe him a great debt. If he does not prevail, he has nevertheless earned the great debt from those bound together in spiritual unity against tyranny. □

INDEED 'DO IT!'

New York, May 12—*Do It!* —as I have previously reported—is the title of the book by Jerry Rubin, best described, or at least adequately described, as a triumph of witless nihilism. Never mind; it is because of his mindlessness, not despite it, that Rubin is spending his time these days touring the campuses and encouraging his listeners to Do it. Do what? Well, do what students want to do. What do students want to do after they have listened to Jerry Rubin? Well, let us take a case in point, the University of California at Los Angeles . . .

Jerry Rubin was there a week or so ago, and he spoke, free form, for about an hour and a half. The *Daily Bruin* is the undergraduate newspaper, and its standards of journalism are, to judge from the relevant issue, very high, because Miss Ann Rankin and Mr. Rick Keier, student writers, reported on the speech and on subsequent events as proficiently as the top writers of the *Los Angeles Times* could have done, with the advantage that the *Daily Bruin* is more permissive than the *Times* on the matter of publishing obscenities.

One has the feeling about Rubin that if the commonplace obscenity had more than one syllable, he wouldn't be able to handle it. He used The Word as often as the typical premier of the Soviet Union would use the word "democracy" to describe arrangements in Russia and throughout the peace-loving world. Rubin relies heavily on the word, presumably to spare him the ordeal of thinking. A specimen of his wit was his opening statement. He yelled out, to an audience of three thousand, "I'm Johnny Cash and I'm glad to be here at the UCLA penitentiary."

He went on, in the words of the reporter, "ridiculing conventional America from its schools to its morals." He ridiculed federal laws in general, and specifically those that observed the existence of state lines. He was most scornful about laws that relate to "intent," because he said he had not known even what his own intent was in going to Chicago in the summer of 1968, which makes the jury that recently found him guilty better even than a mind reader. "My 'intent,'" he told the crowd, right after telling them he had no intent, "was to get stoned or get laid—I don't know." And indeed, "to me, a riot's a party!"

"They are putting us in jail for our fantasies and our dreams! But there's one word they can't take away from us! There's one word they can't co-opt!" (He meant "pre-empt"): and, of course, word.
the audience shouted out the sacred

The audience then marched with Rubin to the Law School, which was closed down in protest against something or other, and a lot of them took to directing the obscenity in turn at the trustees, at Reagan, then at former Los Angeles Police Chief Tom Reddin, at newscaster George Putnam.

Is that all? No. A hundred of the young people peeled off and decided to pay a visit to Chancellor Young's residence. They didn't find him there—he was off in San Francisco. But they spotted his swimming pool, and a half-dozen of them jumped in, a few of them taking off all their clothes. At this point Mrs. Young drove into her own driveway. They trapped her car. She asked them to move, and they refused. They protested that she could park free (in her own garage) but they had to pay a dollar. At this point UCLA police came in and led the Chancellor's wife to safety. The students left the pool and there were no arrests, needless to say.

THE CLIMAX was to come. Over at the Law School a professor was denouncing the Regents because they were investigating the question whether a law professor has acted illegally. Never mind that the Regents had yet to report their findings one way or another; their mere inquiry was simply too much. At this point Philosophy Professor Donald Kalish broke in to announce joyously that his department had voted unanimously to rehire Communist Angela Davis. Whereupon the Professor of Philosophy announced exuberantly that "After listening to Jerry Rubin, I felt like doing something radical!" Whereupon—brace yourself—"he took off his coat and tie and undershirt." One wonders what the Professor would have taken off after listening to Socrates.

So it goes. We know that a week earlier, at another University of California, in Santa Barbara, there was a more conclusive result following one of Jerry Rubin's speeches. It was described in a few words, in a letter to the editor of the *Daily Bruin* a day later, by a student called Allen Michel. He wrote: "To Jerry Rubin, a riot is a party. Yippee. Do it. Kevin Moran would probably have different feelings about riots if he were alive. He was killed in Isla Vista during one of Rubin's parties.

"Yippie. Do it." □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. An English chemist (?1765-1847) — 11 207 212 52 113 25 206 19

B. Sensation — 15 20 165 177 137 85 121 98

C. A U.S. admiral, World War II — 45 162 66 171 167 122

D. German legislative body before the National Socialists burned it out — 48 139 69 151 86 221 172 38 120

E. A city in Japan — 74 22 176 125 149 42 4 51

F. One of a German breed of wire-haired pointing dogs — 101 145 75 132 71 152 95 111 161

G. The unicameral parliament of Poland — 108 72 138 43

H. The legislature of Great Britain — 116 28 83 184 130 188 203 209 210 10

I. The legislature of Iceland — 1 29 33 60 64 14 82

J. What a senator in Italy may be — 159 41 32 57 65 123 154 173 178 180

K. Characterized by dexterity — 186 44 30 59

L. The chief goddess of the Babylonians — 195 90 164 112 80 157

M. A rope or chain fitted around a mast near the top to hold hanging blocks — 205 63 91 53 73 214 140 156

N. The legislatures of some of the United States — 163 136 100 103 126 153 96 174 36 196 / 204 2 183 189 84

O. A legislature in the Orient (it sounds fishy) — 50 70 37 47 81 3 16 61 26 35 / 79 89

P. Capable of being uttered *(rare)* — 170 144 190 217 5 97 142

Q. What the U.S. is *retrogressing toward* rapidly — 129 6 40 9 99 62 67 78 109 115 / 141 150

R. Shameless — 166 104 182 117 143 220 56 46

S. An athletic event — 218 187 133 148 197 23 193

T. A parliamentary body *in the Old World* — 21 31 181 219 12 87 124 200 211 76 / 102 55

U. American actors, father and son (1800-1871, 1869-1926) — 27 198 215 13 185 24 127

V. A functionary in WORD T (following *Gentleman*) — 88 17 34 49 39 77 192 93 110 114 / 135 160 168 175 216 7 8 107

W. A title of certain Hindu princes — 147 92 128 105 199 54 213 158 194

X. Part of the legislature of Norway — 191 68 18 118 58 131 201 106 179

Y. A defamation published for political effect — 208 119 146 134 155 202 94 169

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 530 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

1 I	■	2 N	3 O	4 E	5 P	6 Q	7 V	■	8 V	9 Q	■	10 H	11 A	12 T	■	13 U	14 I	15 B
16 O	17 V	18 X	19 A	■	20 B	21 T	22 E	23 S	24 U	25 A	26 O	■	27 U	28 H	29 I	30 K	■	31 T
32 J	■	33 I	34 V	35 O	36 N	■	37 O	38 D	39 V	40 Q	41 J	42 E	43 G	44 K	45 C	46 R	■	47 O
48 D	49 V	■	50 O	51 E	52 A	53 M	54 W	55 T	56 R	57 J	58 X	■	59 K	60 I	61 O	62 Q	63 M	■
64 I	65 J	66 C	67 Q	68 X	69 D	70 O	71 F	72 G	73 M	74 E	■	75 F	76 T	77 V	78 Q	79 O	■	80 L
81 O	82 I	83 H	84 N	■	85 B	86 D	87 T	88 V	89 O	90 L	■	91 M	92 W	93 V	94 Y	95 F	96 N	97 P
98 B	■	99 Q	100N	101F	■	102T	103N	104R	105W	106X	107V	108G	■	109Q	110V	111F	112L	■
113A	114V	■	115Q	116H	117R	118X	119Y	120D	121B	122C	123J	■	124T	125E	126N	127U	128W	129Q
130H	131X	132F	■	133S	134Y	■	135V	136N	■	137B	138G	139D	140M	141Q	142P	143R	■	144P
145F	146Y	147W	■	148S	149E	150Q	■	151D	152P	153N	154J	155Y	156M	157L	■	158W	159J	160V
■	161F	162C	163N	164L	165B	■	166R	■	167C	168V	169Y	170P	■	171C	172D	■	173J	174N
175V	176E	■	177B	178J	■	179X	180J	181T	182R	183N	184H	185U	186K	■	187S	188H	189N	190P
■	191X	192V	■	193S	194W	195L	196N	■	197S	198U	199W	200T	201X	202Y	203H	204N	205M	206A
■	207A	208Y	209H	■	210H	211T	212A	■	213W	214M	215U	216V	217P	218S	219T	220R	221D	■

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Mr. Nixon, writes Hazlitt, "put forward this radical proposal in the language of conservatism. He said that the last third of a century had 'produced a bureaucratic monstrosity' and 'left us a legacy of entrenched programs.' Then he proposed a plan that can only make the bureaucratic monstrosity more monstrous and create still bigger and more entrenched programs."

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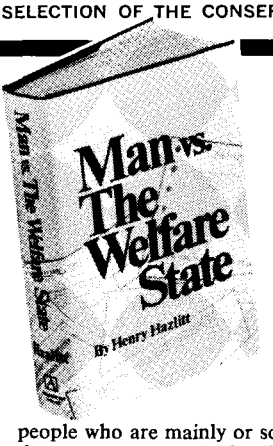

And then, the bombshell. Henry Hazlitt dares to bring up the Unmentionable: "We have to ask, for example, whether liberty, economic progress, and political stability can be preserved if we continue to allow the people on relief – the people who are mainly or solely supported by the government and who live at the expense of the taxpayers – to exercise the franchise."

A "reactionary" proposal? Only to an age that believes in rights without responsibilities. As Hazlitt notes, "outstanding liberals of former days did not hesitate to recommend it. In 1914, A. V. Dicey, the eminent British jurist, asked whether it is wise to allow recipients of poor relief to retain the right to join in the election of a member of Parliament. And John Stuart Mill, writing in his *Representative Government* in 1861, did not equivocate . . . "

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